

J A M M U,
KASHMIR
& LADAKH

LINGUISTIC PREDICAMENT

Edited by
PN Pushp
K Warikoo

Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation

JAMMU, KASHMIR AND LADAKH:
LINGUISTIC PREDICAMENT

JAMMU, KASHMIR AND LADAKH: LINGUISTIC PREDICAMENT

Edited by

P.N.PUSHP
K. WARIKOO

Issued under the auspices of
Himalayan Research and
Cultural Foundation



HAR-ANAND PUBLICATIONS

Har-Anand Publications

364-A, Chirag Delhi, New Delhi-110017

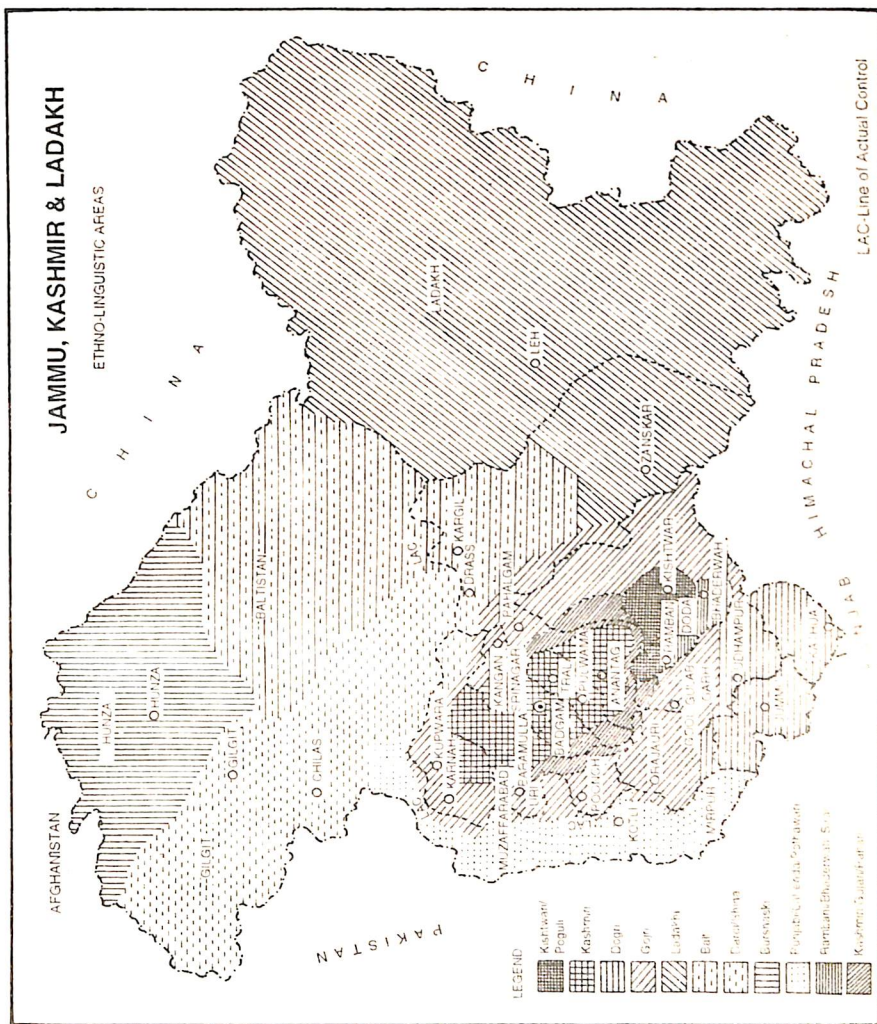
Copyright © Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, 1996

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without the prior written permission of the publishers.

PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by Ashok Gosain for Har-Anand Publications. Typeset at S.S. Computers, Delhi and printed at Printline, New Delhi.

ETHNO-LINGUISTIC AREAS



NOT TO SCALE

PREFACE

Identifying identity may prove an arduous task; yet, the attempt reveals that language has emerged as a significant marker of cultural identity. Or, should we say, a basic identity within the country's over-all identity comprising a number of sub-identities?

To facilitate comprehension of such a fascinating mosaic of cross-cultural interaction in the Jammu and Kashmir State, an authentic account of the contributory facts and factors has been a longfelt need. It was in this very context that the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation organized a Seminar on "Cultural Heritage of the Western Himalayas and its Future" on March 23-24, 1994 at India International Centre, New Delhi, which among other things deliberated on the linguistic heritage of the State. The deliberations highlighted the need to go into the cultural moorings of various mother tongues of the State.

Such a need is sought to be fulfilled by the present volume of papers by a group of specialists who are known to have devoted considerable time and thought to their respective branch of study. Covering all the mother tongues, besides the link languages of Urdu and Hindi, the papers present a significant cross-section of the linguistic predicament of the three regions of the State.

The editors have consciously abstained from any sort of regimentation of matter or manner. They have, in fact, pinned down the editorial processing to the irreducible minimum. Nevertheless, they are aware of shortcomings, here and there. They have had to put up with some cases

of over-elaboration, which they have however, had to accommodate as informative appendage.

Discerning readers are expected to work out common multiples as well as factors of objective thinking in the context of the linguistic predicament awaiting timely attention. Objective thinking, of course, is the crying need of the hour, in view of the establishment's chronic aversion to the long-denied claims of the mother tongue. Pedagogy in the State seems to have remained blissfully ignorant of these claims, while the bureaucratic bosses of the Education Department have all along succumbed to chauvinistic pressures of political expediency.

The right of the child to find its mother tongue at the doorstep of schooling has got to be conceded; sooner, the better. Suitable strategies of teaching scripts and linguistic structures have got to be thoughtfully devised and imaginatively adopted. These alone will clear the mess made in the name of administrative feasibility, and generate a cultural climate of mutual understanding. In such a climate alone can the link language gracefully integrate the Mother Tongues and the Mother Tongues could gratefully get their due.

Editors

CONTRIBUTORS

- Prof. P.N. Pushp is the former Director, Research, Libraries and Museums, J&K Government, Srinagar.
- Dr. S.S. Toshkhani, who was awarded Ph.D. for his work *Linguistic Peculiarities of Banasur Katha (1446 AD)*, is the author of (i) *Lalleshwari* (Hoshiarpur, 1962), (ii) *Kashmiri Sahitya ka Itihas* (J&K Cultural Academy, 1989) (in Hindi). He has been member of Kashmir Information Service (1959-85).
- Prof. B.K. Kaul Deambi, formerly Director, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, is the author of (i) *Corpus of the Sharada Inscriptions of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1982), (ii) *History and Culture of Ancient Gandhara and Western Himalayas* (New Delhi, 1985).
- Prof. Ved Kumari Ghai, is Professor of Sanskrit, Department of Sanskrit, University of Jammu. She is the author of (i) *Nilamata Purana*. 2 Vols. (J&K Cultural Academy) and (ii) *Kashmir ka Sanskrit Sahitya ko yogdan* (in Hindi), (J&K Cultural Academy, 1987).
- Dr. R.P. Khatana, who teaches at Government College, Gurgaon, is the author of (i) *The Gujars, Gujar Language and Literature of Jammu and Kashmir* (Gurgaon, 1974) (in Urdu) and (ii) *Tribal Migration in Himalayan Frontiers* (Gurgaon, 1992).
- Mrs. Malavika Bandyopadhyaya has been associated with the Department of Indo-Tibetan Studies, Vishwa Bharati University.
- Syed Mohammad Abbas Kazmi, an authority on the Cultural Heritage of Baltistan, is President, Baltistan Research Centre (Pakistan).
- Prof. S.K. Pathak, formerly Professor, Department of Indo-Tibetan Studies, Vishwa Bharati University, Santiniketan, is now associated with the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- Nishat Ansari, Member of J&K Education Service, is a well-known literateur of Kashmir.
- Prof. R.K. Sharma, formerly Head, Department of Hindi, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, has been President, Council of Hindi Teachers of Indian Universities.
- Dr. K. Warikoo is Associate Professor, Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and Secretary General of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation.

CONTENTS

1. Kashmiri and the Linguistic Predicament of the State — <i>P.N.Pushp</i>	13
2. Kashmiri Language: Roots, Evolution and Affinity — <i>S.S. Toshkhani</i>	30
3. The Sharada Script: Origin and Development — <i>B.K. Kaul Deambi</i>	80
4. The Dogri Language — <i>Ved Kumari Ghai</i>	101
5. Gujari Language and Identity in Jammu and Kashmir — <i>R.P. Khatana</i>	109
6. Sanskrit Impact on the Speech of Ladakhi Garkhuns — <i>Malvika Bandyopadhyaya</i>	129
7. The Balti Language — <i>Syed Mohammad Abbas Kazmi</i>	135
8. Generic Affinity of Balti, Bodhi, Spiti & Lahuli Speeches — <i>S.K. Pathak</i>	154
9. Urdu in Jammu and Kashmir — <i>Nishat Ansari</i>	165
10. Hindi in Kashmir — <i>R.K. Sharma</i>	174

11. Language and Politics in Jammu and Kashmir: Issues and Perspectives — K. Warikoo	183
<i>Appendices</i>	213
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	222

I

KASHMIRI AND THE LINGUISTIC PREDICAMENT OF THE STATE

P.N. Pushp

Kashmiri is the language recognised by the Constitution of India (in the VIII Schedule) as the language of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Nevertheless, it has yet to be reflected in the school curriculum even at the primary level of pedagogy.

During the early fifties Kashmiri was, no doubt, introduced in the schools of the Valley, from the I to the V Primary, not only as a subject of study but also as a medium of instruction. But the experiment was discarded, soon after, as unfeasible on the lame excuse of a clumsy script.

Even after a fairly suitable script was officially accepted for the language, and a new set of textbooks produced for re-introduction of teaching of the Kashmiri/Dogri/Punjabi language as an elective subject, the experiment did not take off. Systematic implementation of the project was progressively postponed on some plea or the other. It was argued that Kashmiri could not be introduced as long as the demarcation of areas for teaching Dogri and Punjabi in the Jammu Province was not finalized; and the finalization was intriguingly delayed and delayed. The scheme was, meantime, nipped in the bud.

What, apparently, was viewed as an administrative concern, however, turned out to be a tacit dread of pressurizing by political chauvinism. Chauvinists were in fact, haunted by misconceived notions of identity-building in isolation. The dread was that the Urdu language would be considerably dislodged from the socio-cultural bases occupied by it during the Dogra period when it replaced Persian as the language of administration. What was forgotten, conveniently, was: once the pupils would be able to read their mother tongues they would be in a better position to learn the other tongue also without phonetic mix-up. They are, otherwise, likely to superimpose some linguistic features of their mother tongues on the Urdu language they would per force learn as the first language which it, actually, was not.

The mother tongue, obviously, has not to be taught; what has to be taught is the **script** in which the mother tongue is written. It would, afterwards, be easier to learn the sounds peculiar to Urdu without allowing the mother tongue interfere with the phonetic exercise involved. Confusion arises mostly because more than one script is over-ambitiously taught to the helpless child during a single term. A number of scripts can, nevertheless, be playfully learnt one after the other allowing enough time to practise the use of one script before another is taken up.

Before we consider the pedagogical strategy in detail, however, a glance at the linguistic criss-cross of the State may throw up some relevant perspectives. At the first glance the criss-cross appears to be quite dauntingly complex: we find a diversity of languages and dialects spoken by people inhabiting various areas exposed to diverse processes of contact, encounter and interaction from time to time. Alongside the broad operation of what is historically recognized as the prominent language of an area we find some other languages and dialects also spoken in a particular circle, strip or pocket of the area concerned. Occasionally some of the dormant sectors of speakers suddenly wake

up to a refreshing stroke of socio-cultural aspiration or political ambition. That is what has been often happening and has recently happened in the case of Gojri and Pahari. The **New Kashmir** blueprint had (as early as 1946) rightly guaranteed rehabilitation of all the neglected tongues of the State.

Let us now take the State area wise. In Ladakh we find Bodhi (Ladakhi) in Leh and Balti (akin to the Balti of Baltistan) in Kargil with pockets of Kashmiri and Hindustani (Hindi/Urdu). The Valley has Kashmiri, by and large, with strips or tracts of Gojri, Shina, Pahari and Panjabi, mostly linked together by a smattering of Urdu. Linguistic contiguity and exchange, occasionally, gives rise to a mixup like what is popularly labelled as the **Sikh-Kashmiri** and the **Gujar-Kashmiri**. Similarly, Jammu has Dogri, Panjabi and Poonchi (Pahari) with strips of Gojri and pockets of Pogli-Kashtawari (Kashmiri), Bhadrawahi with its dialect (Bhalesi) and sub-pockets like Siraji and Rambani (in the Doda district).

Kashmiri is spoken by over thirty one lakhs of people in an area of over 10,000 sq. miles, within the J&K State (Census 1981). Though concentrated mostly within the Kashmir Valley it has a few sizable pockets across the Pir Panjal range also, particularly in the Doda district. Smaller pockets, however, are found not only in the Poonch-Rajauri area but also at other places such as Gool-Gulabgarh, Riasi and Basohli.

Despite regional variation of accent and usage, however, the **Marazi** and **Kamrazi bolis** (dialects) of Kashmiri are identical in structural matrix and morphological configuration. The **Kishtawari** dialect (with its twin, the **Pogli**) nevertheless, has chanced to preserve quite a few layers of early growth that yield telling clues to the morphological development of the language in consonance with the regional Prakrit-Apabhramsa rather than the hypothetical Dardic/Pisaci stock, as Grierson would like us to believe. The doyen of the Linguistic Survey of India

has, no doubt, rendered monumental service to the cause of studies in Indian languages; yet, he seems to have gone astray at least on two counts. First, the classification of the Kashmiri language as Dardic; and, secondly, insistence on labelling two free variations of the Kashmiri utterance as Hindu Dialect and Muslim Dialect.

This genius of a linguistic scholar somehow felt fascinated by the probability of such a hypothesis which unfortunately for him remained pampered within the confines of probability and did not get ratified as an objective fact of linguistic development. Consider, for instance, a few of his observations that he published in a series of articles in the *Indian Antiquary* (1931-33);

1. "It is **probable** that in Dardic language distinction between dental and cerebral mutes is not as sharp as in India proper".
2. "In Kashmiri and **probably** in all Dardic languages the following pairs of vowels are commonly confused, i.e.

ī, ē; u, o; ü, ě."

3. "All the Dardic languages **probably** possess e-mātrā, but **only** in Kashmiri do we find positive information about it."

No categorical statement of his based on clinching evidence appeared even after 1933 that could release his hypothesis from the confines of mere probability. The words underlined in the excerpts quoted above reflect, in fact, a fair degree of uncertainty when studied further in the light of the linguistic data furnished by the eminent scholar in support of his hypothesis. The data adduced by him in this regard is just confined to tentative resemblances: just some casual sounds, and vagrant vocables regardless of the evidence offered by the structural framework that the Kashmiri language shares with sister languages including Sindhi, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujrati and Bengali. By the way, it is not an old vocable (adopted or adapted) occurring in an utterance that indicates its lineage; on the other hand,

the structural **matrix** in which the vocable is framed is a sure index to the lineage as well as the level of linguistic development of the utterance.

Nor does Grierson's data throw any sure light on the most striking peculiarity of the Kashmiri language, i.e. the morphology of the verb that carries with it the pronominal morphs as well as the synthetical case-morphs of the agentive and the accusative dative. Let us take **Vonmas**, for instance, meaning : I told **him**. The form is partially like the Sanskrit **avadam**; but more closely, like the Perisan **goftamash** (which carries the agentive as well as the accusative markets). Was this trait of the old Avestan-Vedic verb-morphology, somehow, alive in the literary memory of Kashmir at the time Kashmiri was evolving out of the regional Prakrit—Apabhramsa round about the tenth century?

The linguistic features vaguely claimed to be shared by the Dardic languages are by no means peculiar to the Shina-Dardic Group, but are already there in the Indo-Iranian heritage. Even if Dardic impact be detected and conceded here and there, it is too meagre and superficial to warrant formulation of the Dardic origin of Kashmiri. Origin lies not on the surface but has to be identified at the deep structure of the syntax.

Similarly untenable is Grierson's insistence on formulating two main varieties of Kashmiri fondly labelled by him as **Hindu dialect** and **Muslim dialect**. The two versions of the Prodigal son (The Biblical Parable) furnished under the two labels betray methodological arbitrariness because both the versions can be taken as free variation of the Kashmiri utterance common to a Hindu as well a Muslim speaker of the language.

Calling 'Akis mahnivis aasy zu necivy' typically Hindu, and 'Akis shakhsas aasy zu necivy' typically Muslim, in contradistinction with each other is quite simplistic, even ludicrous. A Hindu and a Muslim could both have used either of the two vocables, **mahnavis** and **shakhsas** with

equal ease and could also have used **zanis** without any inhibition. Both are sensible enough to operate appropriate registers of socio-cultural context irrespective of religious denomination. The next sentence (in the Parable) goes a step further in cooking up the myth of a Hindu dialect and a Muslim dialect in terms of the vocables **manz** and **andar** (respectively) i.e. in **timav manza dop koonsy hivv maalis** and **timav andra dop lokuty hivv maalis**.

Grierson seems to have been unconsciously inhibited by the Fort William model of the Hindu/Urdu syndrome, in terms of Mir Aman's **Urdu** and Lallu Ji Lal's **Hindi**, both meant to enlighten the new entrants into the Indian Civil Service under the Raj. Obviously, Grierson's assistants had not cared to develop a suitable mechanism for verification of the linguistic samples furnished to him in response to indoctrinative terms of reference, somewhat like: speak this as a typical **Hindu**/ as a typical **Muslim**.

Reckless enthusiasts (innocent of linguistic perspectives) have taken widely extreme postures regarding the origin of the Kashmiri language. On the one extreme end are those who are inspired by Khwaja Nazir Ahmad's *Jesus in Heaven or Earth* (1953). Taking their stand on chance resemblance of sounds **detected** in words (of remotely distant stocks) they seek to **prove** that Kashmiri owes its origin to Hebrew moorings. On the other extreme end are those who claim that the Kashmiri language is as old as the Vedic. (Every Indian language, of course is!) Neither of these cadres of crusaders has cared to consult the Kashmiri language itself as to the stratification of its structural evidence. The evidence of the structural matrix of the Kashmiri utterance conclusively establishes that the language of Kashmir is a late medieval development of the Indict (Prakrita-Apabhramśa) stock, and is quite akin to other modern Indian languages of the Indo-Aryan family.

Historically studied and structurally scrutinized, the Kashmiri language doubtlessly appears to have emerged out of a Prakrita-Apabhramśa substratum of the region

round about the X century. Why else should Ksemendra (XI cent.) have recommended the prospective Sanskrit poets of the time to positively study the **bhasā-Kāyya** (: Verse in the regional dialect of Kashmir) alongside the **Prakṛita-Apabhraṃs'a Kavyas**? A few years later, Bilhana, another celebrity of Kashmir, admires the women of his native land for their superb command over both Sanskrit and Prakrit which they wielded with equal ease as if they were wielding their mother tongue (unequivocally termed **janma-bhāsā**).

Obviously the mother tongue, in due course, developed into what Siri-Kantha (XIII cent.) has described as **sarvagocara desa-bhāsā** (: the language widely understood in the region by one and all), written of course in the Sharada script.

The nomenclature (: Kashmiri), however, is recorded for the first time by Amir Khusru in his *Nuh Sipihir* (C. 1300 A.D.). He mentions the word **Kashmiri** alongside **Lahori** and **Sindhi** as an outstanding name in India's linguistic landscape of the times.

Yet, dominated by the classical language, the vehicle of elitist culture, Kashmiri had to remain content as a medium of lowbrow (folk) culture, mostly catering to the literary needs of the non-privileged. It was generally cultivated by those that either had the inner urge to compose verse in the mother tongue or by those that simply failed to make a mark in the classical language. It, nevertheless, flourished as a language of rich expression as is reflected by its folksong and folktale sparking with proverbial collocation.

In this context it would be worthwhile to get a peep or two into the historical legacy of the classical language that have left their deep impress on the Kashmiri language by conditioning its growth in terms of form as well as scope.

The earliest evidence of the Sanskrit-writing in Kashmir is that of the *Sarvastivada* tradition of the Mahayana preoccupying itself with dissemination of the Dhamma, as perceived and interpreted by Kashmiri savants and scholars. It was their reputation for eminence that attracted Hieun

Tsiang to Kashmir (in 631 A.D) where, as many as twenty scribes were placed at his disposal for copying manuscripts preserved at the Jayendra-vihara of the city. The Chinese pilgrim's impressions of his two years' stay at the Vihara are an eloquent testimony to the pervasive presence of Sanskrit in Kashmir.

The language may not ever have been a spoken language of the Valley; yet it continued to be not only the language of Kashmir's court and culture but also of creative as well as critical writing till the late 14th century. It contributed to religious thinking and aesthetic appreciation as also to poetic articulation, both lyrical and reflective. Among its outstanding contribution may be mentioned:

1. The philosophic writing on Kashmir Saivism, particularly on the Trika Dars'ana also called the *Pratyabhijna*.
2. Systematization of various schools of Indian Poetics propounding original points of view not only on *Rasa* but also on *Riti*, *Dhvani*, *Vakrokti* and *Aucitya*.
3. Collections of (Brihatkatha) tales. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*, in particular, provided the models for various versions in world language, through the mediation of the Persian rendering.
4. Historical narratives like the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana who struck a new path in verse-writing by structuring the historical flux of time into a sizable chronicle covering some currents and cross-currents of Kashmir's past down to the middle of the twelfth century.
5. The satire of Ksemendra who caricatured agents of administrative bungling and debunked promoters of moral dereliction.

Manuscripts of these Sanskrit works, have come down to us in the Sharada script which emerged out of the Brahmi (Gupta) script towards the beginning of the ninth century. Naturally, therefore, the same script served the purposes of Kashmiri language also when it came to be written in

the tenth century. Curiously enough the script continued to be in use for some time even after the advent of Islam and for a few years coexisted with the Persi-Arabic script particularly on some tomb-stones.

Sanskrit, naturally, continued to be the language of court and culture for a few years even after the advent of Islam (in Kashmir) till the Persian language totally replaced it as the language of court and administration. Establishment of Islam in the Valley (by the middle of the XIV century) opened up a two-way intercourse between Kashmir and the centres of Persian culture, particularly Khurasan, Samarkand, Bukhara, Merv and Herat. Divines and Sufis from these seats of learning and culture brought with them the Persian language and literature, while princes, scholars and traders from Kashmir also felt tempted to see a bit of the outside world.

Interlinguistic exchanges threw up valuable works like Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri's *Bahr-al Asmar* (: Persian rendering of Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*), prepared at the instance of Zain-ul-abidin (1420-70 AD), and Srivar's *Kathakautuka* (Sanskrit rendering of Jami's *Yusaf-Zulaikha*) prepared in 1505 AD. During the Mughal period (1586-1752 AD) in Kashmir, we find a galaxy of Kashmir's Persian writers rubbing shoulders with their contemporaries from Iran, particularly from Mashad and Hamadan, besides those from other parts of the subcontinent. Persian, thus, flourished and lingered on in Kashmir as language of administration down to the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925 AD) when Urdu and English (in part) took over from it.

Yet, during the five centuries of its sway in Kashmir the rich language produced over three hundred writers and more than a thousand (major and minor) works, creative as well as critical. Its popularity with all sections of Kashmirian society became so pervasive that even the Kashmiri Pandits felt tempted to read their masterpieces like the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata, Yogavasistha, Shivapurana and Bhagavat Gita in Persian rendering. Most

of the Pandit families treasured the Manuscripts of the *Sirr-e Akbar* by Dara Shikuh who during his visit to Kashmir was inspired to undertake the Persian rendering of the Upanishads. In the prologue to the work he informs us how he felt induced to attempt such a gigantic task of cross-cultural dissemination when in 1050 A.H. (corresponding to 1640 A.D.) he was thrilled to see his preceptor, Akhun Mullah Shah (at his Hari Parbat abode) holding converse with seekers belonging to diverse orders of spiritual quest. It was on his return to Banaras that very year that he sought the guidance of local scholars, and completed the work by 1067 A.H. (corresponding to 1656 A.D.).

Evidently it was the Vaak-Shruk temper of Kashmir that had enraptured Akhun Mulla Shah, highly respected preceptor of Dara Shikuh who later on, in his *Majma-ul Bahrin* (The Confluence of the Two Oceans) shared his awareness of spiritual affinities with his readers, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. No wonder that even non-Muslims of Kashmir enjoyed reading Persian classics like the Mathnavi of Moulana Rumi, the Shahnama of Firdusi and the Sikandarnama of Nizami. These in fact, used to be taught in the **maktabs** often run by Kashmiri Pandit **Akhuns** who had no inhibition in popularizing Persian handbooks even on the **Karmakanda** (ritual) including chunks of **Jyotisha** (astrology) and **Ayurveda** (: Indian system of medicine). Such handbooks, often, revealed in quoting excerpts from original (Sanskrit) texts in the Sharada script. Some tracts on Kashmiri music of the Sufiana Kalam variety also were compiled in the Sharada script which almost withered away by the end of the nineteenth century.

It was natural, therefore, that when Persian progressively became the language of administration as well as cultural intercourse, Kashmiri also adopted the Persi-Arabic script which since has been accepted as the official script after a number of attempts at modification. These were meant to ensure due representation of sounds specific to the articulation of Kashmiri phonemes.

Earlier, however, the Nagari script was first employed for the Kashmiri language by Pandit Ishwar Kaul for his monumental work on Kashmiri Grammar titled *Kashmira-Sabdamritam*. His system of diacritics was adopted by Grierson not only for his Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language, but also for his editions of Kashmiri classics like *Sivaparinaya*, *Krishnavatara* and *Ramavataracarita*, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. During mid twenties Toshkhani adopted it with slight modification for his Kashmiri Primer and *Granz Vyad* (on Calculation) and also for small anthologies like *Sundar-Vaani*. Those very days the *Bahar-e-Kashmir* of Lahore included a section on Kashmiri in the Devanagari script. In mid-thirties the *Pratap* Magazine of the S.P. College, Srinagar, started Kashmiri sections in both Persian and Devanagari scripts.

Later, Masterji brought out an abridged text of Parmanand's works in two volumes of *Parmananda-Sukti-Sar* and published his own collection of verse, *Sumran* also in both the scripts. But the first persistent attempt to employ the Nagari script for the purposes of contemporary Kashmiri was made by the periodical, *Pamposh* of Delhi. Later the practice has been commendably continued by the *Koshur Samachar* of the Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi.

The Kashmiri language which has throughout missed court patronage except for a brief period during Sultan Zain-ul Abidin's reign (1420-70) had, however, to face the odds and carry on at the folk level despite elitistic disinterest bordering on classical arrogance. Though denied facilities of schooling in it, the language persisted in its non-formal role as an inevitable medium of interpretation even in the State schools at the Primary level as it had done earlier in *Pathshalas* and *Makhtabs*. The language continued to perform the vital role of an interpreter even in the early forties when the State introduced *Asan Urdu* in both the (Persian and Nagari) scripts as the common medium of instruction at the Primary level.

As Urdu in both the scripts was introduced on the

recommendation of a Committee with Zakir Hussain as the Chairman and Khwaja Ghulam-us-Sayedain as Secretary, the other members being Siddheshwar Varma and Raghuvira. The committee, in fact, produced a basic Glossary of *Asan Urdu Terms* (published in both the scripts). Somehow the project was not effectively followed up after Saiyedain relinquished the State job.

During the mid-seventies, however, it was again deemed advisable to equip school teachers (of the State) with a knowledge of both the scripts but mysteriously, again, the scheme was shelved, almost hushed up, despite the fact that the Kashmir University Department of Correspondence Courses, now called Distance Education) got a set of textbooks prepared in each of the two scripts.

Meantime, the Kashmir University set up a Kashmiri Department for post-graduate studies in language and literature with the laudable objective of producing competent Kashmiri scholars who could in due course be employed as Kashmiri teachers in the Higher Secondary Schools. Later, perhaps, they could think of coming down to the Primary level. Anyway, from the apex to the base, a new strategy, no doubt, but in response to what exigency? Nobody knows; even those that have cared to know do not know for certain.

What one knows for certain, however, is that by early eighties a whispering campaign was set afoot (in the Valley) against any attempt to pinpoint strands of composite culture symbolized by the **Vaak** of Lal Ded and the **Shruk** of *Nund Rishi* (Sheikh Noor ud Din Noorani). Any such attempt was derided as highly objectionable in the changing circumstances of militant insurgency. What was sought to be aggressively highlighted was any point of departure of Kashmiri language and culture from anything that carried echoes of Indian heritage of inter-community concord and harmony, perceiving unity in diversity.

Such being the latest scenario of inhibitive manoeuvres in the Valley, the linguistic predicament of the State has assumed a graver complexity. Administrative disdain has

become fortified by a clannish hostility to the mother tongue dreaded as a cultural rival to the Urdu language. The reactionary zealots view it as a vital link in the chain of fundamentalist postures of insurgency. The damage done to the genuine cause of Kashmiri seems to be nobody's concern. A canard has been cunningly floated that it is the Central Government that thwarts the State Government's efforts to introduce the Kashmiri language at the Primary level. An insidious campaign to brainwash the youngsters clamouring for speedy redressal of the sidetracked cause has created the wrong impression that the State would have given the mother tongue its due if the Centre had not stood in their way. The distortionists boisterously argue that the Centre dreads the Kashmiri language as a focal point of Kashmiri identity. According to the canard the centre would not like the younger generation to appreciate how the Sahitya Academy (at the Centre) is keen to see that the Kashmiri language presents its best year by year. If the State fails to give it a proper go how can the Centre help it?

Administrative inconvenience, after all, is not incurable; it can be sagaciously managed provided there is the will to do so and egalitarian perspectives are allowed to operate undaunted by chauvinistic pressures. Let us probe the genesis of these pressures, succumbing to which even the well-meaning initiatives were foiled from time to time.

It appears that during the fifties the New Kashmir aspirations were dynamic enough to give the Kashmiri language a chance. The language was made at one stroke a subject of study as well as a medium of instruction. But soon the overcautious bureaucracy seems to have had after thoughts. They viewed the experiment as extremely inconvenient, for, despite its constitutional status Kashmiri, after all, was a mother tongue likely to inspire other mother tongues of the State also to press for their claims to be accommodated in the school curriculum. What added to their perturbation was the displacement of Urdu the mother

tongues were likely to cause. It was easy for wirepullers to take refuge under the blanket concern for 'national integration.'

The pretence, however, could easily be knocked out of bottom by pointing out that the mother tongue would peacefully co-exist with Urdu, the link language of the State. It should be the proud privilege of Urdu to perform its mighty role, coordinative as well as creative. As a coordinator it would introduce the mother tongue to one another, while as a vehicle of creativity it would enrich them by exposure to innovative articulation manifesting itself in the subcontinent and the world. It need not tread upon the heels of any other tongue of the State, much less the mother tongue which certainly deserves a proper place of its own at the initial stages of schooling. The link language (Urdu) has not only to accommodate the mother tongue by respecting its inalienable right to form the corner stone of the edifice called schooling but also to place at its disposal the consolidated funds of its maturity. But will the State allow it to perform its genuine role in the circumstances?

A child has, after all, to outgrow the smaller circles into wider circumferences of socio-cultural interaction. Hence the need to learn a language or two over and above the mother tongue for which there can be no substitute whatsoever. It is high time, therefore, that no more time is lost in rehabilitating the Kashmiri language primarily as a mother tongue.

The linguistic predicament of the State, accordingly, is a pedagogic challenge to ensure proper placement of various languages and dialects spoken in an area of linguistic criss-cross, by working out a viable order of priorities and a sustainable system of linkages. The task concerned is, no doubt, a tough one, but it certainly deserves to be undertaken on a project basis.

Subject to availability of a basic minimum of instructional material any mother tongue can be introduced as the first

language at the initial stage of schooling, but as emphasized earlier, one and only one script should be introduced at a time during a single term. A second script should be taken up only after the first one is thoroughly drilled. Overambitious parents may expect their child to flaunt his/her acquaintance with the Roman script even before he/she has practised the script of the mother tongue; but perceptive teachers will take care not to allow such inflections. No such project nevertheless, can be worked out in isolation. May be the NCERT also will have to lend a helping hand in this regard by reconsidering some of its rigidities and taboos in the context of simultaneous introduction of at least two scripts, Nagari and Roman, for instance. In case the script of the link language happens to be different from that of the mother language, the pupil may have to learn a third script also, as (for instance) in the case of Panjabi and Bodhi. But, to lighten the instructional burden and optimise the learning output viable strategies of teaching a script can be suitably devised and gainfully employed.

Linguistic predicament of the State, thus, calls for appropriate logistics of pedagogy involving a thorough overhaul of curricula and syllabi at the initial stage. As a suggestive illustration, for instance, a viable model could be worked out on the following lines, in the context of the Kashmiri language:

At K.G. level:

1. **L.K.G:** Action-oriented (playway) chit-chat in the mother tongue with reference to telling models and charts facilitating an awareness of the child's links with his/her associates and immediate surroundings. No script is to be taught at this level.
2. **U.K.G:** Similar programmes in the link language (Urdu) in both the scripts, Persian and Nagari, may be run facilitating interlinguistic comprehension.

GRADE ONE

- I Term: The script of the mother tongue may be taught through phonographemic pictorial making the process of learning immensely absorbing. Special care has to be taken to enable the new learner to recognize the correspondence between the sound of the alphabet and the graphemic visualization. The visuals have to be duly followed up with a fascinatingly thorough drill in writing the letters in significant sequence so that the learner is in a position to identify the scripted form of the utterance he/she is already familiar with.
- II Term: A Zero-Reader featuring the basic utterance patterns of the Kashmiri language framed in significant contexts and situations, should certainly inspire the learner to go ahead on his/her own.

GRADE TWO

- I Term: With Kashmiri as the main medium of instruction, rudiments of environmental geography, civics, general science and mathematics may be imparted.
- II Term: Side by side, a well-integrated programme of conversational segments of the link language (Urdu) may be worked out, through a suitable Zero-Reader. The Reader is expected to feature basic essentials of Urdu utterance ensuring a thorough comprehension of a generative framework within which new vocabularies could be fixed up as and when needed.

GRADE THREE

- I Term: Kashmiri would continue to be taught as a regular subject while Urdu (in either script) would take over from it as a common medium of instruction.
- II Term: Roman script would be introduced after an absorbing drill of visual interface with the graphemes in terms of easily recognizable pictures

indicating the sounds concerned in telling sequences.

GRADE FOUR & FIVE

Urdu will continue as the common medium of instruction, throughout and, besides, shall be there as a subject of study.

Kashmiri will be taught as a subject of study ensuring a suitable cross-section of curricular needs as well as a vital interface with the language.

The linguistic predicament of the State certainly clamours for a timely experiment like the one suggested above.

KASHMIRI LANGUAGE: ROOTS, EVOLUTION AND AFFINITY

S.S. Toshkhani

Kashmiri is a unique language in the Indian linguistic context. It is analytic like the modern Indian languages of Sanskritic stock and synthetic like the Old Indo-Aryan itself, possessing characteristics of both and at the same time having peculiarities of its own many of which are yet to be fully explored. Linguistically, its importance can hardly be overlooked because, as Siddheshwar Verma has observed, it reveals linguistic strata of various ages — “Vedic, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali, Kharoshthi Prakrit”¹. George Buhler’s view that it is of the greatest importance in the study of a comparative grammar of Indo-Aryan languages² only stresses the obvious for preserving old word-forms and also revealing how new forms took shape from old bases, Kashmiri does seem to hold the key to understanding the processes through which these languages have passed in their development before assuming their present forms.

Grierson too appears to endorse the same point when he says that a study of the Kashmiri language is “an essential preliminary to any inquiry” regarding the “mutual relations of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India”³.

Vedic Origin

There exists a very strong evidence to support the claim that Kashmiri has descended from the Vedic speech or, as pointed out by Buhler, from "one of the dialects of which the classical Sanskrit was formed"⁴. References are replete in Rig Vedic hymns to rivers and mountains which have been identified by scholars like Zimmer with definite places in Kashmir, indicating that the region was a part of the Vedic Aryan world — at least in the geographical sense. Linguistically too this fact is strongly corroborated by the presence of a large number of lexical and phonetic elements in Kashmiri that can be directly traced to Vedic sources. These include several words most commonly used in everyday speech in Kashmiri. For example, we have the Kashmiri word **yōdvay** meaning if, what if, yet, still, nonetheless. This appears in almost the same form in the Vedic word **yaduvay**⁵, the corresponding word for it in Sanskrit and Hindi being **yadi**. Similarly, the word **basti**, which in Kashmiri means skin, hide, bellows, is hardly different from the Vedic **basti** meaning goat or **bāstajin** meaning goatskin. The Vedic word **sin** occurs as **syun** in Kashmiri meaning "a cooked vegetable", while the Vedic **san** appears in Kashmiri as **sōn** meaning deep. Again, the word **vay** which means grains in Vedic is used in Kashmiri in the same sense. From the Vedic root **taksh** comes the Kashmiri word **tachch** (to scratch, to peel, to plane, to scrape) and its derivative **chchān** (carpenter, *Skt Ksh* invariably changing to **chch** in Kashmiri). Several Kashmiri words have evolved from Vedic through intermediary Pali or Prakrit forms. For instance, *Ksh.* **atsun** (to enter), Pali **accheti**, Vedic **atyeti**. Similarly Vedic **prastar**, from which the Hindi word **patthar** (stone) is derived, changes through the intermediary Prakrit form **pattharo** to **pathar** or **pəthur** in Kashmiri retaining the original sense of "on the ground" or "floor". These are but a few of the numerous examples that show how Kashmiri has preserved phonetic, semantic and even morphological elements of the Vedic speech.

It is perhaps on the basis of such overwhelming evidence that eminent linguists like Jules Bloch, Turner, Morgenstierne, Emeneau, Siddheshwar Verma and several other scholars have pointed to the Vedic origin of Kashmiri, arriving at their conclusions after intensive research on the actual traits of the language.

Phonetic aspects of how Kashmiri retains some of the most archaic word forms that can be traced only to the Old Indo-Aryan speech have been analysed at some length by Siddheshwar Verma. Citing word after word, Verma provides evidence on how Kashmiri shows contact with older layers of Indo-Aryan vocabulary⁶. The Kashmiri word **Krāl** (potter) derived from the Vedic Sanskrit **Kulāl** is one of such words which he has examined in detail, taking help of Turner's Nepali dictionary. While all other modern Indo-Aryan languages, except Nepali and Sinhalese, have for it words derived from the Sanskrit **kumbhakār**, Kashmiri alone preserves remnants of the relatively older **kulāl**, he points out, which appears for the first time in the Vajasneyi Samhita of the Vedas. **Kumbhakār** makes its appearance after the Vedic age (c.f. Monier Williams: Sanskrit-English Dictionary) and it is from this that words like Hindi **Kumhār**, Gujrati-Marathi **kunwār** and Western Pahari **kumār** have originated. **Tōmul** (uncooked rice) is another word cited by him in this context, which, he says, has retained the initial **ta** of Sanskrit **tandulam**, while other modern Indo-Aryan languages generally have **cha**. For example, we have **chāwal** in Hindi and Gujrati, **chāul** in Bengali and Oriya, **chāur** in Sindhi, **chāmal** in Nepali. Retention of the original **r** in Kashmiri **prīsh** (Skt. **prichcha** = to ask) and **prang** (Skt. **paryank** = bed) are other notable examples, according to him, of the tendency (in Kashmiri) to preserve original phonetical elements. **Kochchwu**, the Kashmiri word for tortoise, he goes on to point out, indicates that the original word must have been **kashyapa** and not **kachchapa** as in Kashmiri. Skt. **ksha** almost invariably changes to **chcha**, e.g. **ḍchchi** < Skt. **akshi**, **mḍchchi** < Skt.

makshikā, **lachch** < Skt. **laksha**, **vachch** < Skt. **vaksha** and so on. The intermediary form derived from **kashyapa**, which actually occurs in the Vajsaneyi Samhita, must have been **kakashapa**, Verma suggests.

Arguing along similar lines, eminent Kashmiri linguist S.K. Toshkhani goes a bit further and suggests that Kashmiri may have preserved even some pre-Vedic phonetic elements⁷. Citing examples, he refers to the Kashmiri words **rōst** and **sōst** which correspond to Sanskrit **rahit** and **sahit** respectively. **Rōst** and **sōst**, he says, appear to be older than **rahit** and **sahit**, and could be pre-Vedic as the change of **sa** to **ha** is regarded a relatively later development.

Grierson's views

George A. Grierson, however, holds entirely different views on the question of affinity of Kashmiri. Disregarding the overwhelming evidence that reveals its basic Indo-Aryan character, he seeks to banish the language from the Sanskritic family, preferring instead to classify it under the Pishacha or Dardic group, which, he holds, occupies a position "intermediate between the Sanskritic language of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to their West"⁸. Considering Dardic languages, including the Shina-Khowar group, to have developed from the Indo-Iranian branch of Aryan, he uses the cover term **Pishacha** to describe them and observes that Kashmiri too shares their characteristics and so must be grouped with them. He tries to shrug off the predominance of Indo-Aryan vocabulary in Kashmiri by attributing it to a powerful influence of Indian culture and literature for over two thousand years and arguing that vocabulary alone cannot be the determining factor of the classification of a language. "Kashmiri", he concludes, "is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pishacha family allied to Shina", explaining that by basis he means "its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody"⁹.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji almost echoes Grierson when he

observes that "the Kashmiri language is a result of very large overlaying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements"¹⁰. But neither Grierson nor Chatterji have been able to show what this Dardic base precisely is or produce any evidence of the "over-laying". However, their conclusions have found almost uncritical acceptance by many, creating a confusion that shows no sign of abating and letting a totally erroneous view to prevail. It must be strongly asserted that Grierson's arguments and pronouncements are based on extremely flimsy evidence which has little to do with the facts of the language, and need, therefore, to be re-examined, particularly at a time when the very basis of his theory of Aryan immigration in waves is being seriously questioned. His classification of Kashmiri is overdue for rejection as seriously flawed and arbitrary.

Kashmiri and Pishachi

Grierson starts from a false premise when he equates Kashmiri with Pishachi and therefore with Dardic and Iranian, a theory that makes little linguistic sense and has even lesser basis in historical facts. His infatuation with this equation notwithstanding, there are questions which refuse to be exorcised. Were the supposed raw-flesh eating Pishacas actual speakers of Pishachi Prakrit? Were they and the inhabitants of Dardistan one and the same people historically? Both find mention in the Mahabharata and in the Rajatarangini, but in different contexts and as separate and distinct ethnic groups. Nowhere have their ethnic traits or identities overlapped or been confused with one another — something that only Grierson has attempted on the basis of far-fetched and hardly tenable evidence.

Scholars are absolutely not sure and certainly not in agreement about the linguistic features and exact geographical area of Pishachi. Yet Grierson in his obsession to separate Kashmiri from Indo-Aryan languages extends as though with a sweep of his hand the Pishachi and hence

Dardic speaking region from the Hindukush to Goa¹¹, assuming too much and interchanging the terms Pishacha and Dard only to create a mess from which linguistic research has yet to recover. And granted for a moment they are interchangeable terms in ethnic as well as linguistic sense, is there sufficient material for one to adduce inferences about the features of Pishachi and sufficient grounds to apply these on one to one basis to Dardic languages and equally to Kashmiri? Was Chulika Pishachi an Indo-Iranian form of speech? For answering these queries all that we have to fall back upon is what the Prakrit grammarians have to say in this regard and the stray examples they have cited in their works, for of Pishachi virtually no record exists, the great *Brihatkatha* of Gunadya having been completely lost.

What we gather from Vararuchi, Hemachandra and other Prakrit grammarians boils down to but a few phonetic and morphological features with which Kashmiri has hardly anything to do. One of these is hardening of soft consonants in Pishachi as compared to Sanskrit, or the third and fourth voiced aspirated stops becoming voiceless and unaspirated. This process is nowhere in evidence in Kashmiri except in some rare cases limited to borrowings from Persian. Thus **ga** seldom changes to **ka** in Kashmiri — there being absolutely no possibility of **nagar** changing to **nakar** or **gagan** to **gakan** (examples chosen by the Prakrit grammarians to illustrate their point), nor of **guru** changing to **kuru** or **gachcha** to **katsh**. Sanskrit **agni** changes to **agin** and **lagna** becomes **lagun** (of Hindi **lagnā**) the **ga** remaining strong and unchanged in initial, medial or terminal positions. Again **gha** is pronounced as **ga** but in no case does it become **kha** as is said to happen in Pishachi — **megha** > **mēkho** is unthinkable in Kashmiri in which **ghotaka** > **gur**, **ghāma** > **gum** and **ghaṭa** > **gaṭi**. Further, **d** at the end of a word does not change to **t**. Thus, **Damodar** changing to **Tāmotar**, as shown to happen in Pishachi is absolutely impossible in Kashmiri. In fact, there are several examples

of the final **ta** changing to **da**, as, for instance, in Skt. **anta** > Ksh **and**, Skt. **danta** > Ksh. > **dand**. The consonant is, however, mostly retained in Kashmiri in initial and medial positions while changing to **th** in the final position (**rakta** > **rath**, **gati** > **gath**, **mati** > **math**, **prati** > **prath**, **shata** > **shath** and so on.

Also, Sanskrit **ja** is pronounced as **za** in Kashmiri and does not become **cha** as the rules of Pishachi phonetics would have required. Thus, **jal** becomes **zal**, **jana** becomes **zon**, **jāṅghā** becomes **zang**, **jarjar** becomes **zazur** and **ujjwal** changes to **wozūl**. In borrowings from Persian, however, **ja** usually remains unaltered, as in **jald**, **janawar**, **jurmani**, **ǰ:hil**, **jang** etc. Of Sanskrit **ra** changing to **la**, a frequent phenomenon occurring even before the Prakrits were evolved, there are but very few examples, the tendency to retain it as such being quite strong. For example, **rajju** > **raz**, **raksha** > **rachh**, **taranam** > **tarun**, **maranam** > **marun**, **patra** > **v̌ďth**, **mitra** > **myethir**, **sutra** > **sithir**, **mutra** > **mithir** and so on. Final **dha** is pronounced as **da**, losing its aspiration, but not as **tha** to which it changes as in Pishachi.

Morphologically too Kashmiri does not share any of the characteristics attributed to Pishachi. The ablative of stems ending in **a** is not marked by **āto** or **ātu**, nor does the past-participle **tva** change to **tun**, or **thun** or **dūn** as Prakrit grammarians have laid down. Sanskrit **tva** invariably becomes **it** or **ith** in Kashmiri as illustrated by **Kritva** > **karitvā** > **ǩdrith**, **nutva** > **namayitva** > **ňdmith**, **mritva** > **m̌drith**, **dhritva** > **ďdrith** and so on.

As against this none of the actual linguistic traits of Kashmiri, phonetical or morphological, can be traced in Pishachi, of which examples provided by the Prakrit grammarians are the only record available. One, therefore, sees little logic in forcibly imposing on Kashmiri features of a virtually non-existent language. All that Grierson has done is to gather far-fetched examples, mostly from Dardic and Kafir languages, and attribute these to Kashmiri, claiming that rare exceptions form the rule and pronunciation

of a few words (Persian borrowings) represents phonetical tendencies of the whole language. A much laboured exercise, surely, but also gross misrepresentation of facts.

Is Kashmiri a Dardic Language?

Coming to Dard languages proper, Grierson's pet theory that these together with Kashmiri and the Kafir group constitute a special branch of Indo-Iranian can hardly withstand linguistic scrutiny. Georg Morgenstierne rejects it outright by maintaining that the so-called Dardic languages are in reality Indo-Aryan and not Iranian. Their word-stock is mainly Indo-Aryan and so are their basic characteristics, he contends. Morgenstierne finds Grierson to have muddled the whole issue by clubbing together the Dardic and the Kafir languages into one single group, and so he is not inclined on the basis of his own research to accept Grierson's views. "I am unable to share these views", he observes. "The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the Kafir group, are of pure IA (Indo-Aryan) origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic"¹².

Endorsing Morgenstierne's observations, Emeneau adds that these (Dardic) languages are Indo-Aryan but they did not pass through the MIA (Middle Indo-Aryan) development represented by the records, while on the other hand the Kafir languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun and to some extent Dameli) may occupy some sort of special position"¹³. With Jules Bloch and Burrow too taking the line that the Dardic (Shina-Khowar group) languages have Indo-Aryan characteristics while the Kafir group may have Iranian affiliations, there is no justification for applying a different yardstick to Kashmiri. Kashmiri too is just as much Indo-Aryan as, say, Shina to which Grierson finds it allied. By confusing Pishachi with Dardic and Dardic with Kafir speeches and all these in turn with Kashmiri, Grierson has botched up the whole question of affiliation.

We find him going to absurd lengths in trying to establish that Kashmiri has close affinity with Shina, shutting himself

out from facts and displaying only a superficial knowledge of Dardic phonetic and morphological systems. Ironically, while he rejects vocabulary as the determining factor in the matter of linguistic classification, he starts with using this very factor as a proof for his conclusions. Of the 128 Shina words he has listed for having cognate forms in Kashmiri ¹⁴, more than 107 are unmistakably of Sanskrit origin—a fact that he chooses to conceal. Let us have a look at some of these:

English	Shina	Kashmiri	Sanskrit
acid	churko	tsök	chukra
after	phatū	pati	pashchāt
army	sin	sina	sēnā
aunt	pafi	poph	pitushvasr
	(Hindi fufi)		
autumn	sharō	harud	sharad
be	bo-	bōv	bhu
beard	deĩ	dōr	danshtrikā
between	maji	manz	madhya
	(Pkt. majjh, Hindi manjh)		
blue	nilo	nyul	nila
	(Hindi nila)		
Bone	ațoi	ədiȝ	asthi
bow	danu	dūny	dhanush
break	puț	phuț	sphōț
cold	shidalo	shītal	shital
		(the actual Kashmiri word is 'shihul')	
cow	gō	gāv	gau, gāv
dance	naț	nats	nrtya
day	dez	dōh	divas
death	maren	mara	marañam
		(marun)	
dog	shū	hūn	shūn or shwān

dry	shuko (Hindi sukha)	hōkh	shushka
ear	kon	kan	karna
eat	ko-	khe	khad
escape	much	mwkal	much mukti mukham
face	mukh	mwkh	duram
far	dūr	dur	pada
feet	pā	pad	anguli
finger	agūi	ongijy	paksha
fortnight	pach	pachh	dada
give	di (the actual word is doiki)	di	
gold	son	swan	swarna
grape	jach'	dachh	drākshā
hand	hat	athi	hasta
leaf	pāto	patir	patra
(of a tree)	(Hindi 'pat')		
learn	sich (Hindi sikh)	hechh	shikasha
lip	onṭi	wuth	oshtha
man	manuzho	mohnyuv	manushya
meat	mos	māz	mamsa
milk	dut	dwd	dugdha
naked	nanno	nōn	nagna
name	nām	nāv	nama
new	nowu	nōv	nava
night	rāti	rāt(h)	ratri
old	prono	prōn	puranam
plough	hal	ala-	hala
receive	lay	lab-	labh
right	dashino	dōchhin	dakshina
rise	uth	woth	utishtha
sand	sigel	syakh	sikta
seed	bi	byol	bijam
silver	rup	rop(h)	raupya

sing	gai	gyav-	gayanaga
smoke	dūm	dh	dhūma
smooth	pichhiliko	pishul	pichhala
sweet	mōro	mōdur	madhu- ram
today	acho	az	adya
tongue	jip (Hindi jibh)	zyav	jivha
tooth	don	dand	dantah
vein	nar	nḁr	nadi
village	girom	gām (Pkt, gamo)	gramah
weep	ro-	riv-	rodan/ruv
woman	chai	triy	stri
write	lik-	lēkh	likha
yes	awa	ava	ava

The Sanskrit Factor

It will not be difficult to see from these examples selected at random by Grierson, that it is not the Dardic connection that binds Kashmiri and Shina but the affiliation of both to Sanskrit or the Old Indo-Aryan upon which they draw as the basic source for their vocabulary. Many of these, as Grierson himself admits, have cognate forms in other Indian languages too because of the Sanskrit factor and, therefore, these do not show any exclusive linkage between Kashmiri and Shina. It can also be easily marked that phonetic systems of the two languages operate along entirely different lines. The presence of one or two Shina loan words in Kashmiri does not go to prove anything for, as T. Graham Bailey has clearly pointed out, Shina in turn, particularly in its Guresi and Tileli dialects, has been influenced considerably by Kashmiri. The fact is that Dardic languages have borrowed heavily from Urdu/Hindi and Punjabi and have some significant morphological similarities with these North Indian languages, while with Kashmiri they have practically none.

Contrary to what is generally believed, there are wide differences between the linguistic traits of Kashmiri and Shina, too fundamental to be ignored. Proceeding one by one according to the criteria set up by Grierson himself for affiliation, let us see how tenable the arguments in support of grouping Kashmiri with Shina as a representative language of the Dardic group are. But before that let us have a look at some of the lexical and morphological similarities that link the Dardic speeches with other modern Indo-Aryan languages. These will be found to be of more than casual interest. Here are some lexical items from Shina and their corresponding Hindi equivalents.

Shina	Hindi	English
agar	angar	a live coal, cinder, spark
agut	angūṭhā	thumb
ashatu	ashakt	powerless, helpless
ash	ashru, ānsū	a tear
bāgō	bhāg	part, portion, division
bar	var	husband
baris	baras	year
bachhari	bachhrī	female calf
bish	viṣ	poison
	(note the cerebrals)	
biz	bhiti	fear
burizoiki	būrna	to dip, be immersed
charku	charkhā	a spinning wheel
chīlu	chīr	cloth
chōritu	chōr	thief
chushoiki	chūsna	to suck
dugunia	dugna	double
dut	dudh	milk
eklu	akela	alone

gaṇṭ (note the cerebral)	ghaṇṭa	hour
gur	gur	molasses
halizi	haldi	turmeric
hanz	hans	a swan
hīu	hiyā	heart
jaru	jarā	old age
jīnu	jīvit, jīnā	alive/to live
kali	kalah-kārī	querrelsome
kriyē	kīrī	anant
khen	kshaṇ	an instant, glamoment
lash	lajjā	shame
maṇuk	mendhak	a frog
manu	manuṣhya, manav	a man
mos	māns	meat, flesh
musharu	mishra	mixed
mushtake	mushti, muṭṭhī	fist
ōn	anna	grain, food
paku	pakka	ripe
pōchi	pōtī	grand-daughter
rōg	rōg	disease
rōng	rang	colour
sand	sāṇḍ	a bull
shēūr	shvasur, sasur	father-in-law
sheu	shvēt	white
shing	sīng, shṛing	horn
shish	shīṣ	head
sioki	sinā	to stitch, sew
ṭal	tal	bottom
teru	terha	crooked, bent
jō	jō	which, who that

These are but a few examples that should be sufficient to give an inkling of, how lexical items in both the languages are derived from a common source. The similarity extends to other features also. For instance, pronomial forms (first person-singular) in Shina closely resemble the corresponding

Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi pronouns. The same is true of adverbs of place and of conjunctions, most of which appear to be borrowings from these languages. The Shina auxiliary and substantive verb-forms **hanus**, **hanu**, **hane**, **haniek** bear an amazing similarity to Hindi **hūn**, **hai**, **hain**, **hōngē**. If that is the case, are we to conclude that Hindi too is a Dardic language?

Kashmiri and Shina: Phonetic Dissimilarities:

Let us go back to the dissimilarities between Kashmiri and the Dardic languages and start from their phonetic features. Though too glaring, these have never been highlighted. Some of the important differences are as follows. (1) The peculiar Kashmiri vowel sounds ∂ , ∂ ː, \mathbf{i} and \mathbf{i} ː do not occur in Shina and other Dardic languages, nor does Kashmiri share with them its umlaut system or "consonantal epenthesis under influence of a following vowel". In turn Kashmiri does not follow the short, very short, long, half-long vowel system of Dardic languages. (2) Almost all nasals occurring in the old Indo-Aryan exist in Shina, including the cerebral $\mathbf{\eta}$, Kashmiri has only \mathbf{n} and \mathbf{m} . (3) Dardic languages have the sibilant cerebral \mathbf{s} , Kashmiri has not. (4) Existence of two sets of so-called palatal letters, both fricatives and stops, is a marked features of Shina, while Kashmiri like other Indo-Aryan languages has only one—the fricatives **sh**, and **z** and **zh** do not occur in it nor does cerebral **j**. (5) Like most modern Indian languages the cerebral letters **ṭ**, **ḍ**, **ṛ** and **ṇ** are an intrinsic part of Shina, but Kashmiri does not have **ṇ** and **ṛ**, the latter being used in the rural dialect only in place of **r**. (6) In Shina the position of the half-vowel **y** is very weak and often approaches **e**; in Kashmiri **y** is strong in initial, medial and terminal positions.

There is a great divergence in the phonetic changes that words of Sanskritic stock undergo in Kashmiri and in Shina. Sanskrit **s** and **ṣa** almost invariably change to **ha'** in Kashmiri, but in Dardic languages this phenomenon seldom

occurs. Some examples: Sanskrit **sharad**, Shina **sharo**, Kashmiri **harud**; Skt. **shūn** Sh. **shun**, Ksh. **hun**; Skt. **shikasha** Sh. **sich**, Ksh. **hēch**, Skt. **shrṅkhala** Sh. **shangal**, Ksh. **h:nkal**; skt. **shushka** Sh. **shuko**, Ksh. **hōkh**; Skt. **vis** Sh. **bish** Ksh. **veh**; Skt. **shakti** Sh. **shat**, Ksh. **hēkat**. Initial **h** changes to **a** in Kashmiri, but is generally retained in Dardic: Skt. **hasta**, Ksh. **ath**, Sh. **hat**; Skt. **hamsa**, Ksh. **ḍnz** Sh. **hanz**; Sanskrit **tr** changes to **cho**, in Shina while in Kashmir it is generally preserved: Skt. **strī** Sh. **cheī**, Ksh. **tri**; Skt. **trīṇi** Sh. **che**. Ksh. **trē**; Skt. **jamatr** Sh. **zamoch**. Sanskrit **dr** changes to **z** in Shina, where as in Kashmiri the **d** of the compound consonant is generally preserved: Sh. **heridrā**, Sh. **halizī**, Ksh. **lēdir**, Skt. **drākshā** zach. Ksh. **dachh**. Sanskrit **bhr** also changes to **z** in Shina, but not in Kashmiri: Skt. **bhratr** Sh. **za** (cf. Panjabi **bhra**), Ksh. **boy**. In Shina, as in several Indian languages, Sanskrit **v** becomes '**b**', but in Kashmiri its position is generally strong. Skt. **viṣh** Sh. **bish**, Ksh. **vēh**; Skt. **vatsa** Sh. **batshar** (c.f. Hindi **bachṛa**). Ksh. **vōtshh**. Terminal **b**, in Shina tends to become **p** and terminal **d** is pronounced as **t** in words of Persian or Sanskrit origin; **gulāb** > **gulāp**, **garīb** > **garīp**, **jībḥ** > **jīp** **faulād** > **fulāt**. This is rarely the case in Kashmiri.

That should be enough to blast the myth that the Kashmiri phonetic system is allied to that of Shina. The fact is that phonetically Shina has little to do with Kashmiri, though it has features that can be found in Hindi/Urdu and Punjabi. Grierson has unfortunately chosen to give selective, distorted and misleading information by taking words from Dardic and Kafir speeches and even from the so-called Siraji and other supposed dialects of Kashmiri.

Morphological Differences

We find the same process of falsification of facts repeated when we come to morphological features. Grierson has kicked so much dust about these—accidence and syntax and so on—that it would be worthwhile to examine in brief some of the important ways in which these features differ in the two languages¹⁵:

- (1) Shina has two sets of accusative—the first after transitive verbs in general and the second after verbs of striking (with hand, stick, knife etc.), the nominative having the same form as the 1st accusative.
- (2) The genitive in Shina is formed by adding the suffix-**ei** or **-ai** in Kashmiri post positions. **un** and **iny** and **n** and **ni** are added to the dative for masculine and feminine, singular and plural proper nouns relating to human beings, **uk** and **iky** and **ich** and **ichi** in case of inanimate objects. For nouns other than proper names **hund** or **sund**, **hindy** or **sindy** in case of masculine singular and plural and **hinz** and **sinz** and **hinzi** or **sinzi** in case of feminine singular and plural nouns are added.
- (3) Shina has a prepositional case to be used after most prepositions, Kashmiri has no prepositional case.
- (4) In Shina separate suffixes **-r** and **-zh** are used to denote **in** and **on** or **upon** in the locative.

Examples: (i) **ai disher** (in that place); **hier**, in (my, his, your) heart.

(ii) **mēcizh**, generally used with **azhe**, as **mecezh azhe**, upon the table;

(iii) **anu manuzesh** (**it ibāreh nush**, I have no faith in this man.

In Kashmiri locative is formed by using postpositions like **andar**, **tal**, **dūr**, **kyath**, **nyabar**, **pyath** etc. with the dative case.

- (5) Pronouns in Shina are mostly of the Hindi/Urdu, Panjabi type, except the nominative and agentive plural of 1st person masc. **bē**, **bes** which appear to be influenced by Kashmiri. Only pronouns in the 3rd person have a feminine in singular. The most important difference is that unlike Kashmiri there are no regular indefinite and relative pronouns in Shina. The interrogative pronoun is commonly used in their place especially in negative clauses. For example:

- (i) **kō**, (who): **kō mush**, there was no one, **mutu kō** (someone)
 - (ii) **jeh** (what): **jēga nush**, (nothing at all), **mutu jek** (something else).
 - (iii) **kos thai buti daulat naye gub** (the man who lost all your wealth), **main jek daulat haniek**, (whatever wealth there may be of mine).
6. In Kashmiri adjectives are declined and agree with the noun in gender, number and case. In Shina only adjectives ending in **-u** are declined, and these agree with the noun in gender and number only, not in case. Other adjectives are not declined and are treated as nouns.
 7. There are no forms for the comparative and superlative in Shina. These are expressed by means of the preposition **jo** or **zho**, (from, than). Thus: **chunu**, small: **mojo chunu**, smaller than, but, **e jo chunu**: smaller than all i.e., smallest. In Kashmiri the comparative and superlative are formed by using **khwoti** and **sariviy khwoti** respectively.
 8. Numerals in Shina are counted by twenties or scores, though there are words for hundred, thousand and lakh (the last two have been borrowed from Hindi/Urdu). To form numbers beyond twenty the conjunctive particle **ga** is added to it. For example **bi(h)**, twenty: **biga ek**, twenty and one or twenty one; **bi ga dai**, twenty and ten or thirty; **dibyo ga che**, two-twenty and three or forty three and so on. In Kashmiri cardinals are formed as in other modern Indo-Aryan languages - **akavuh**, twenty one; **trih**, thirty, **tsatji**, forty, **teyitð:ji** forty three and soon.
 9. Cardinal numbers in Kashmiri are declined in agreement with their nouns. In Shina, they are declined only when used by themselves as nouns, not otherwise.
 10. Ordinals in Kashmiri are formed by adding the suffix **-m** or **-yum** to the cardinal, whereas in Shina ordinals

after **pumuko** or 'the first' are formed by adding **-mono** and **-mone** in masc. singular, and plural and **-moni** and **-monye** in fem. singular and plural respectively.

11. Like Hindi/Urdu and Panjabi, noun of agency is formed in Kashmiri by adding **vōl** (Hindi **vālā**) in masculine and **vājyen** (**vālī**) in feminine singular. This is not the case in Dardic languages. In Shina, the auxiliary verb is used to express the idea. For instance. **Ek achi hanu mushā hanu**, one eye is man is, a one-eyed man; **shei jakur hani chei hani**, white hair is woman is, a white-haired woman.
12. In Shina verbs most commonly used are **thoiki** (to do) **boiki** (to be) and **doiki** (to give). **Boiki** and **thoiki** are correlative verbs used with the same nouns or adjectives to form intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. This is not the case with the corresponding verbs **karun**, **asun** and **dyun** in Kashmiri.
13. Pronominal suffixes are a prominent feature of Kashmiri, but they rarely occur in Dardic languages.
14. The present tense in Kashmiri is formed by the auxiliary verb **chhu** and its various masculine and feminine forms. In Shina auxiliary forms **hanus**, **hane**, **hanu**, **haniek** etc. are used which bear a similarity to **hūn**, **hai**, **hain**, **hōngē** etc. It must be stated that substantive verb forms based on the root **chha** occur in many Indian languages, but not in Dardic languages.
15. There is no ordinary way to express the idea of continuance in Shina. While in some cases the word **hēl** is employed to indicate habit, the conception underlying the Kashmiri **bi osus khyavān** (I was eating), **bi gōs khyavān**, (I went on eating), **su rūd vuchhān**, (he kept looking) etc. is not expressed in everyday speech in Shina.

Kashmiri differs from Dardic languages in numerous other

ways, all of which cannot be recounted here for want of space. A few similarities there may be, but these are mainly because of the Sanskrit factor common to Indo-Aryan languages. In view of such overwhelming evidence that separates Kashmiri from the Dardic group in such important aspects as phonetics and accent, the assertion that Kashmiri possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Dardic and in which Dardic agrees with Eranian" looks preposterous. It is difficult to believe, yet it is true that Grierson has gone to the extent of distorting linguistic facts and making false and misleading statements—a case of *suppresso veri and suggesto falsi*—in his desperate attempt to procure evidence for his pet theory. A glaring example of the tendency on his part can be seen in his suggestion that all basic Kashmiri numerals are Dardic and therefore Eranian in spite of their obvious development from the old-Indo-Aryan, or the "Pali-Sanskrit" pattern to use Siddeshwar Verma's words. Similarly, it is a known fact that Kashmiri borrowed the Persian poetic forms like the Ghazal and Masnavi and the metre Bahar-e-Hajaz in the 19th century, but it is the **Vākh** and the **Shruk** that are considered to be the representative Kashmiri metres. How does this lead to the conclusion that Kashmiri metrology is basically Iranian? Fifteenth century Kashmiri works *Banasur Katha* and *Sukh Dukh Charit* have employed well-known Sanskrit metres, which have contributed primarily to the evolution of **vatsun** or the Kashmiri short lyric, and also some original Kashmiri metres like **Thaddo** and **Phuro**. These facts are too significant to be overlooked.

Kashmiri a Sanskritic Language

Just because Kashmiri is different in some ways from languages like Hindi and Gujarati, does it make linguistic sense to exclude it altogether from the Indo-Aryan family? How strong its affinities are with this family is revealed by its basic word—stock, or, to put it in Grierson's own words, "the commonest words—the words that are retained

longest in any language, however mixed, and seldom borrowed". Surely words relating to parts of the body 'physical states and conditions names of close relatives, animals and birds, edibles, minerals, objects of common use etc. can be described as such words and show that their etymology can be unmistakably traced to Sanskrit.¹⁶ (For details see Appendix I).

Morphological Features

Coming to accident or morphological features, Kashmiri reveals its Sanskritic roots no less firmly. Declensions of Kashmiri nouns show how new cases have developed from old Sanskrit bases. For instance, the instrumental in masculine singulars takes the case-ending **-an** which is a remanant of Skt. **-ēṇa** or **-ēna**: Ksh. **tsuran**, Skt. **chorēna**. The dative suffix **-as** or **-is** is obviously the same as Pali **-assa**, which in turn is a derivative of Skt. **-asya**, though there it is used with the genitive: Ksh. **tsuras**, Pali **chorassa**, Skt. **chōrasya**. The locative singular takes the ending **-i** or **e**: Ksh. **vati**, Skt. **pathi**; Ksh. **gari**, Skt. **grihe**. The ablative masculine singular ends in **-a** or **-i**, a remanant of Skt. **-at**: Ksh. **tsūri**, Skt. **chōrāt**. For agentive masculine plurals the affix used is **-av** which appears to have evolved from the Vedic **ēbhih**: Ksh. **tsūrav**, Skt. **chorebhih**. In the accusative/dative masc. pl., the case-ending **-an** can be traced to Skt. **-ānām**: Ksh. **tsūran**, Skt. **choranam**. Likewise, fem. sing. nouns take the affixes **-yi** or **-i** in accusative/dative/agentive case which can be said to have been derived from the Sanskrit case-endings **im**, **-yā**, **yāh**: Ksh. **dīvīyi**, Skt. **dēvīm/dēvyā/dēvyāh**.

Like other modern Indo-Aryan languages, Kashmiri forms a new genitive by adding postpositions to the dative and agentive cases. The postpositions used are **hund** or **sund** with masculine singular and **hinz** or **sinz** with feminine singular nouns and pronouns in case of animate objects the plural forms being **hindy** or **sindy** and **hinzi** or **sinzi** respectively. Punjabi uses **handā** or **hundā** and **sandā** and

Sindhi **sandā**. According to Becames, **sanda** is the Panjabi form of the Prakrit **santah**¹⁸, which becomes **handā** and 'hundā' with the **s** changing to **h**. Buhler is of the opinion that Kashmiri **sund** comes from Sanskrit **shyunda**¹⁹, which appears to be a little far-fetched. The genitive takes the postpositions **un** and **iny** also in masculine and feminine nouns denoting living things; the plural forms are **iny** and **ni**. With inanimate objects **uk** and **ich** are used in singular and **iky** and **chi** are used. These correspond to the Hindi **kā**, **kē** and **kī**, while in Gujrati we have **nō** (**bāpnō ghar**-father's house). The feminine forms of the Kashmiri genitive remind one of the corresponding Marathi forms **chī chē** etc.

Several other cases can also be formed by adding postpositions to the dative.

Kashmiri pronouns have preserved many old forms, which occur in Sanskrit but are not found in Prakrit. For example, the personal pronouns (third person) **su** (he) and **su** (she) are quite akin to Sanskrit **sah** and **sā**. and their plural forms **tim** (they masc.) and **timi** (they fem.) to Sanskrit **tē** and **tah**. All other forms of this pronoun have evolved from the Sanskrit root **tad**. The Kashmiri first person pronoun **bi** or **bō** (I) is a remarkable new form which Buhler regards as "a representative of Skt. **bhavat**, originally present participle of **bhū**, 'to be'". All other forms of this pronoun have developed from the Sanskrit root **asmad**, as is the case with Punjabi and some other modern Indo-Aryan languages: Ksh. **asy**, **panj. assi**. Kashmiri interrogative pronoun, **kus**, **who**, and its plural **kam**, as also their various forms reveal a close relationship with Skt. **kah** and **kas**. The demonstrative pronouns **yi**, this has its origin in the Skt. root **idam** while the relative pronoun **yus** and **yim** come from Skt. **yah yō** and **yē**.

Verbal forms in Kashmiri follow Sanskrit in being derived from the root of the verb, especailly in the past tense. As Buhler has pointed out, "it is impossible to explain them by Kashmiri"²⁰. In this context Buhler cites **dēshun**, 'to see'

and **dyun** 'to give' as examples. From these we get the forms **dyuth**, 'saw', and **dyut**, 'was given', which are derived from **dittho** Skt. **dr̥stitah** and **ditto** < Skt. **dattah** respectively. This process is visible in the formation of all basic tenses—past, present and future. Various forms of the Kashmiri auxiliary verb **chhu** and **as**, which are derived from the Skt. roots **kshi**, 'to be' and **as**, and occur in several other Indian languages too, are formed by affixing remanants of personal pronouns to the stem. The simple future tense is formed by adding the suffix **-i** to the nominative base in the 3rd person, a remanant of the Sanskrit suffix **-syati**: Ksh. **kari** (—he/she will do), Skt. **Karis yati**, Ksh. **mari** (—he/she shall die), Skt. **marisyati**, Ksh. **vegli** (it will melt), Skt. **vigalisyati**, Kashmiri imperative verbs can hardly be distinguished from their corresponding Sanskrit forms. For example we have, Ksh. **gatsh**, 'go' Skt. **gachcha**; Ksh. **lekh**, 'write', Skt. **likha**; Ksh. **an**, 'bring', Skt. **anaya**; Ksh. **dav**, 'run', Skt. **dhava**, Ksh. **lab**, 'find', Skt. **labha(sha)**, Ksh. **kar**, 'do', Skt. **kuru**, Ksh. **van**, 'tell', Skt. **varṇaya** and so on. It appears that most Kashmiri verbs spring from Sanskrit roots.

Verbal nouns are formed in Kashmiri by adding the suffix **-un** to the base, which can be easily traced to Skt. **-nām** or **nām** and is similar to the Hindi suffix **-nā**. Examples Ksh. **marun**, Skt. **maranam** (Hindi **marna**; Ksh. **tarun**, Skt. **taranam** (Hindi **tarana**); Ksh. **vavun**, Skt. **vapanam** (Hindi **bona**); Ksh. **pihun**, Skt. **pesanam** (Hindi **pisna**); Ksh. **pihun**, Skt. **pesanam** (Hindi **pisna**); Ksh. **tsihun**, Skt. **chusanam** (Hindi **chusana**), Ksh. **khanun**, Skt. **khananam** (Hindi **khodana** Ksh. **tachhun**, Skt. **takshanam**; Ksh. **thavun**, Skt. **sthapanam**; Ksh. **vuchhun**, Skt. **vekshanam** (Panj. **vekhna**), Ksh. **vatun**, Skt. **vestanam** and so on.

The Kashmiri conjunctive participle **-ith** preserves elements of the old Sanskrit form **-tva**. Thus, we have Ksh. **karith** (—having done), Skt. **Krtva**, Ksh. **namith** (having bowed) < **namitta** < Skt. **namitva** (**nutva**), Ksh. **gatshith** (—having gone) < * **gachitta** (—having gone") < **gachhitva** < * **gachhitva** (**gatva**), **likhit** < Skt. **likhitva**, **rachhit** Skt. **rakshitva**.

Kashmiri adverbs too point to their old Indo-Aryan origins, quite transparently:

1. Adverbs of Time:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
yēli	when	yarhi
tēli	then	tarhi
kar	when, at what time	karhi
az	today	adya (Pkt. ajja)
rāth	yesterday, yesternight	rātrih
suli	early	sakaē (sakā+ika)
tsiry	late	chiram
pati	afterwards	pashchāt
adi	after that	adā (Vedic)
prath dohi	everyday	prati+divase
prathryati	everymonth	prati+rituh
prath vari	every year	prati+vase
gari-gari	every now and then	ghaṭika (Pkt. ghaṭia) Hindi gaṛi gaṛi)
yuthuy	as soon as	yathāpi
tyuthuy	at that very moment	tathāpi
tōtāny	till then	tāvat
yōtāny	till such time until.	yāvat as,

2. Adverbs of Place:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
yēti	here, wherever	yatra
yētyath	at this place	
tati	there	tatra

tatyath	at that place	
ati	at that place/ from that place	atra
kati	at which place/ (interrogative)	kutra
yōt	to this place/ to whichever place	itah
tōt	to that place	tatah
kōt	to which place	kutah, kutra
tal	under, below	talē
manz	in, inside	madhyē (Pkt. majjhē, Hindi manjh- madhya+bh- āgē
manzbag	in the middle	dūra
dūr	far	dūrē
dūri	from far	iha+pāre
yapāri	on this side	

3. Adverbs of Manner

yithi	in which manner, as in this manner	yathā
tithi	in that manner, like/that	tathā
kithi	in what manner (interrogative)	katham
yithi-tithi	somehow	yatha+tatha

Kashmiri conjunctions too show the same trend with 'ti' and, coming from Skt. **tatha**, 'ti', 'also' from Skt. *iti*²¹ and **beyi**, and, 'more', 'again', from Pkt. 'bēiya' Skt. 'dwitlya'.

Order of words

In spite of all this massive evidence the fact that Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language is sought to be dismissed with the argument that the order of words in a Kashmiri sentence is not the same as in Hindi or other north Indian languages. But the order of words is not the same in any of the Dardic

languages either which have a totally different syntax. Besides this is not the whole truth. True, the order of words very nearly approaches that of English in direct or coupla sentences with verb coming in between subject and object, but certain other types of Kashmiri sentences do resemble those of Hindi and even Sanskrit, as for instance, in certain types of imperative and interrogative sentences. Consider the following examples:-

(1) Imperative sentences:

Kashmiri

yōt yi ti bati khē
(come here and eat your food)

humis ḍḍkas nishi beh
(sit near that boy)

yim palav chhal
(wash these clothes)

chay chyath gatsh
(leave after taking tea)

guris (pyath) khas
(mount the horse)

vwazul posh an
(get the red flower)

kuthis manz par
(Read inside the room)

yitsi kathi ma kar
(Don't talk so much)

tot dwad ma che
(Don't take hot milk)

nyabar ma ner
(Don't go out)

gyavun ma gyav
(Don't sing a song)

Hindi

yahān ā āur khānā khā

us laṛkē kē pās baiṭh

yē kapṛē dho

chay pīkar ja

ghoṛē par chaṛh

lāl phūl lā

kamrē mein paṛh

itnī bātēn mat kar

garam dūdh mat pī

Bāhar mat nikal

gānā mat gā

vuni ma shōng
(Don't sleep yet)

abhī mat sō

Some of the simpler imperatives can hardly be distinguished from Sanskrit:-

Kashmiri

ati ma par
(Don't read there)

gari ma gatsh
(Don't go home)

az ma lēkh
(Don't write today)

krūd ma kar
(Don't be angry)

Sanskrit

atra mā paṭha

ghrīham mā gachcha

adya mā likha

krōdham mā kuru

(2) Interrogative sentences

Kashmiri

tse kya gatshī?
(What do you want?)

su kōt gav?
(Where di he go?)

ŷot kar ikh?
(When will you come here?)

chany kur kati chhe?
(Where is your daughter?)

yi kamysund gari chhu?
(Whose house is this?)

bati kus kheyi?
(Who will take food)

Hindi

tumhē kyā chahiyē?

voh kahān gayā?

yahān kab āogē?

tumhāri bēṭi kahān hai?

yeh kiska ghar hai?

khānā kaun khāyegā?

In subordinate or relative clauses the verb generally come last as in Hindi:

Kashmiri

su laḍki yus yēti rōzān ōs
kōt gav?

(Where has the boy who
lived here gone?)

su hūn yus tsē ōnuth t̄sol
rath

(The dog which you brought,
ran away yesterday)

yosi kath t̄omy v̄nēyi so
drayi p̄dz

(What he had said came out
to be true)

yosi kath ḡdyi, so ḡdyi
(What is past is past)

Hindi

voh larkā jō yahān rahtā
thā kahān gayā?

voh kuttā jō tumnē lāyā
thā, kal bhāg gayā

jō bāt usnē kahī thī voh
sach nikalī

jō bāt gayī sō gayī

This is not to suggest that Kashmiri agrees with Sanskrit in every respect. As a language it has its own peculiarities and distinguishing features. But its basic word-stock does come from Sanskrit, or old Indo-Aryan, and its grammatical forms too have without doubt, developed from it to a considerable extent. True that a great number of Persian and Arabic lexical items have found their way into Kashmiri after the advent of Islam and have become a part of its vocabulary. These, however, are later day additions made much after Kashmiri had evolved as a distinct language.

Written Evidence: Kashmiri and MIA

Though it is not possible to say at what point of time exactly did Kashmiri start taking shape as a distinct language, much of its early literary output having been lost, there is enough written evidence available to help one outline its gradual development from the MIA stages of Prakrit and Apabhramsha through which other modern Indo-Aryan languages have passed. Anyone who cares to study its earliest extant record, that exists in the form of

the *Chhumma Sampraday* verses, *Mahanay Prakash*, *Banasur katha* and '*Sukha-dukha Charit*' will be able to see clearly the continuity of linguistic development that runs through these works. While *Chumma Sampraday* can be assigned to 11th or 12th century, *Mahanay Prakash* written by Shitikantha can be rated to the 13th century, both being treatises of esoteric Tantric sects. Then we have the verses of Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, celebrated saint-poets who lived in the 14th century, but these have been passed down for centuries in oral tradition and thier language cannot be said to be the same in which they were originally composed. The sentence 'Rangassa Helu dinna' (the village of Helu was given to Ranga) occuring in the 12th century work Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is also a curious piece of of linguistic evidence. Though Shitikantha's '*Mahanay Prakash*' and Avtar Bhatta's *Banasur Katha* are separated in time by about two centuries, these works share many a linguistic feature.

Shitikantha claims to have written his work in the local dialect "inteligible to all people'-'sarvagocharadeshabhasa", and Avtar Bhatta too has used the term "deshy" to describe the language he wrote in. The term has been used by Prakrit grammarians to denote local or provincial dialects, as pointed out by Dr. Tagare. Prakrit works by Jain writers are replete with references to eighteen such dialectsor "attharas bhasa", of which Kashmiri must have been one.

Features of early Kashmiri that appear in *Chumma Sampraday* in a nascent form become more developed and distinct in *Mahanay Prakash*, which displays a definite tendency of Prakritization. *Banasur Katha*, on the other hand, is a record of that state of Kashmiri when the language had just emerged from the Prakrit-Apabhramsha egg-shell. The language of *Sukha-dukha Charit* is relatively closer to modern Kashmiri while sharing most of the characteristics of *Banasur Katha*. Being a record of the Kashmiri language as it was spoken in the 15th century, the last two works shed useful light on its medieval development and are greatly helpful in tracing earlier forms of a good number

of Kashmiri words. For instance, various forms of the auxiliary verb **chhu** occur as **kshō**, **kshi**, **kshēm**, **kshōh**, **kshiyiy** etc., suggesting that these have originated from the Sanskrit root **kshi**, meaning 'to be'. Similarly we find the original **sh** retained in words like **shiki**, **shit**; **shiton** of which the corresponding modern forms are **hēki**, **kyath**, 'hyōtun', Skt. **sh** generally changing to **h** in Kashmiri. **Shot** is another word of this kind, its modern form being **hōt**, 'throat'. This is precisely what we find in the Poguli dialect which even today preserves the original sibilant. '**Dittho**' (modern Ksh. **dyuth**) Skt. **drishtwa** and **ditto** (mod, Ksh. **dyut**) < Skt. **dattah** are among the many intermediary forms of modern Kashmiri words that occur in *Banasur Katha*.

Most of the phonetical changes one comes across in *Mahanay Prakash* (M.P), *Banasur Katha* (B.K) and *Sukha-dukha Charit* (COC) take place much the same way as they do in Prakrit and Apabhramsha. Many of these changes have crystallized to form words which are used in present-day Kashmiri. For instance, of elision of independent consonants **ch**, **t** **d** and **p**, there are many examples in these works, the elided consonant being replaced by a glide, **y** or **v**: **vachan**>**vayan**, **lōchan**>**lōyan**, **gatah**> **gav vādy**>**vāy**, **avāptam**>**vāto**, **sthāpayitvā**>**thavēt**. In modern Kashmiri too, excepting the elision of **ch** in **vachan** and **loyan**, we have several examples of this as **gav**, **vay**, **vot** and **thevith**. In Apabhramsha Skt. **r** changes to **a**, **i** and **u**. In M.P, B.K. and S.D.C., **r**>**i** and **a**: **prithvi**>**pithiv** (M.P), **Pithvu** (B.K); **prakriti** > **pakiti** (M.P), **pakit** (B.K), **trn** > **tin**, **mrtyu**>**mitya**, **drdha**>**dado** (B.K), **drstva**>**dittho**, **nrtya**>**nats** etc. In modern Kashmiri this tendency can be seen in words like **dor**< **dridha**, **nats**<**nrtya**; **dyuth**<**drstva**; **pyath**<**prstha**: M.R., B.K. and S.D.C. invariably follow Prakrit-Apabhramsha in elision of one member of a conjunct consonant and doubling of the remaining one. In modern Kashmiri, however, elision of one member does not lead to the doubling of the other member. (For examples of conjunction etc. see Appendix II)

It will be interesting to note that a good number of

grammatical and lexical items are quite similar in *B.K.*, *S.D.C.* and modern Kashmiri, the apparent phonetic differences being mostly due to orthographical limitations. Another feature that needs to be noted is that several words occurring in *B.K.* and *S.D.C.* are found in Hindi and some other north Indian languages but not in present day Kashmiri. For instance we have: **jalo** (Hindi **jala**) **pado** (Hindi **para**), **chados**, **chadet** (Hindi **charha**, **charhe**), **piya** (Hindi **piya**), **guade** (Hindi **ghore**; modern/standard Kashmiri **gur**, rural Kashmiri **gur**). In *B.K.*, the word **eshen** occurs at one place having been used in the sense of 'they came'. Curiously, this appears to be a Bengali word, the modern Kashmiri word being **ayi** (Hindi **aye**). These do not appear to be loan words. Their occurrence in 15th century Kashmiri lends further support to the view that the lines of development of Kashmiri and other modern Indo-Aryan languages must have been similar in the initial phases.

Yet another linguistically significant trait is that in *B.K.* as well as *S.D.C.*, both 15th century works, several words occur in more than one form. For instance, we have **tav** and **tam**, **kshyo** and **chho**, **ko** and **kus i** and **yi**. One of these forms appears to be older and unstable whereas the other is relatively new. This shows that the language at that time was more or less in a state of flux and word forms had not yet crystallised. Interestingly enough there are words in contemporary speech also which exist in more than one form. One such word is **nəvid**, **barber**, which is derived from Skt. **nāpita** and occurs in the form of **nəyid** (Hindi **nāi**) also, the two forms denoting two different stages of development: **napita** > **nəvid**, **nəyid**. This makes Kashmiri an interesting subject for study in the Indian linguistic context.

Metrics

These early Kashmiri texts also shed significant light on Kashmiri metrics. While in *Chumma Sampraday* and *Mahanay Prakash* the metre used approaches *Vakh* and *Shruk*(J)'

derived probably from Sanskrit *Shloka* or Prakrit *Gaha* metres, in *Banasur Katha* Sanskrit metres like *Vasantatilakam*. *Mandakranta*, *Narkataka*, *Sriagdhara* have been used straightaway together with what appear to be original Kashmiri metres like *Thaddo*, *Phuro* and *Dukatika*. We find the author of *Sukha-dukha Charit* also using these very Sanskrit and indigenous metres and that is the last we see of them.

The above study, based on written evidence of the state of Kashmiri language as it was used from the 11th to late 15th century, should be enough to indicate the broad lines of its development in the light of the phonetic changes that can be seen to have taken place during this period. It should surely make it easier for us to go back in time and note for ourselves that this process has been hardly different from the one that has led to the development of other Aryan languages of India. For those who care for facts, this is something that is quite valuable for ascertaining and relocating the position of Kashmiri in the Indian linguistic context. One thing is certain, the roots of Kashmiri do not lie hidden somewhere in the Dardic soil, but can now, more clearly than ever before, be traced to a land that formed a part of the Vedic world. Surely, there is a wide area that has still to be explored, but the direction of this exploration is no longer hazy or uncertain.

APPENDIX I

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit/Prakrit
vāl	hair	vāla
kali	head	kapālah
buth		
mkh	face	mukh
shonḍi	shunda	
(archaic)		
ḍs	mouth	āśya
ḍyak	forehead	Pkt. ḍhika (Guj-ḍaka—throat; ḍōku—head)
gal	cheek	galla
ḍchh	eye	akshi
nas/nast	nose	nāsā/nast
vuth	lips	oṣṭha
dand	teeth	danṭa
bum	eyebrow	bhru
kan	ear	kārṇa
zyav	tongue	jivhā
tal	palate	tālu
hongany	chin	hanu
vachh	chest	vaksha
katsh	armpit	kakshah (Hindi kānkh)
yad	belly	Pkt. Dhīdh (Panj. tiḍ)
mandal	buttocks	maṇḍalah
nāf	navel	nābhi
athi	hand	hastah
khonivath	elbow	ka p h o n i + v a t a h (c.f. Hindi kohni)
ōngij	finger	anguli
nyoṭh	thumb	angusṭha (c.f. Sh. agūṭō)

zang	leg	jangha
khwar	feet	khurah / kshurah (—a cloven hoof- Note the change in meaning)
pād	feet	pāda
tali-pöd	sole of a foot	padatala
nam	nails	nakham
tsam	skin	charma
rath	blood	rakta
ðdij	bone	aḍḍa
dðr	beard	danṣtrika
nðr	vein, artery, blood vessel	naḍika
māz	flesh	māmsah
ðndram	intestines	antram
bwakivðt	kidney	vrikka+vaṭah (c.f. Hindi bukka)
rum		hair of the body
nal	tibia	roma
ryadi	heart	nalāh, nalam (Pkt nalō)
		hṛday

And here are some words relating to various physical states and conditions:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
zuv	life	jiva
zyön	to take birth	Vedic jāyatē
asun	to laugh	hāsam
rivun	to weep	rōdana
mandachh	shyness	manda+akshi
volisun	to feel joy, alacrity	ullāsah
bwachhi	hunger	bubhukshā (c.f. Hindi 'būkh')
shwangun	to sleep	shayanam

nēndir	sleep	nidrā
trēsh	thirst	trṣā

As for names of close relatives are concerned Kashmiri 'mol' (father) and 'mōj' (mother) are said to be of Dardic origin. 'Mol' is, however, derived from Skt. 'mahal', meaning 'the great one'. Other words are clearly of Sanskrit origin.

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
pōt (h) ur	son	putrah
gōbur	garbharupah	
kūr	daughter	kumari/kaumari (Pkt. kunwari, Kauri, Panj. kuḍi, Kaur)
boy	brother	bhrātaka (Hindi:bhai)
bēni	sister	bhagini
petir	uncle (father's brother)	pitravya (Guj.pirāi, pitrāyun)
mās	aunt (mother's sister)	matushvasa (Pkt. Mausī, Hindi mausi, māsi)
pwaph	aunt (father's sister)	pitushvasa (Hindi phuphi)
mām	maternal uncle	māmakah (Hindi māmā)
māmany	wife of maternal uncle	māmikā
nwash	daughter-in-law	snuṣā (Panj. nūh)
zāmtur	son-in-law	jamatr (Pali jamatar, Hindi jamāi)
hyuhur	father-in-law	shvasur (note the change of 'sh' to 'h')
bēmi	brother-in-law (sister's husband)	bhāma

zām	sister-in-law (husband's sister)	jāma (Pk. jāmi)
zəmi	sister-in-law's husband	jāmipati
zəmizi	sister-in-law's daughter	jāmēya
benthir	sister's son (wife's sister)	bhagniputra syali
rūn	husband	ramanah (Pkt. ramano ravannu) ranu, ravan (dialect)
vyas	female friend	vayasi
methir	friend	mitrah
shəthir	foe	shatruh

Common animals, birds and even worms and insects have names which are derived from Sanskrit. Examples:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
sih	a lion, tiger	simha (Pkt. siha)
hōs (t)	an elephant	hasti
shāl	a jackal	shrigalah (Pkt. siala)
sōr	a pig	shūkarah
gāv	a cow	gau (gava)
vōtsh	a calf	vatsah
hūn	a dog	shvānah, shun
vāndur	a monkey	vanarah
gur	a horse	ghoṭakah
(rural dialect gud)		
bachheri	a colt	vats+ika+ra
tshāvul	a he-goat	chhāgalah
hāput	a bear	shvāpadah
vūnth	a camel	ustrah
hāngul	a stag	shṛgalah
məsh	a buffalo	mahiṣah

nūl	mongoose	nakulah
kəchhavi	a tortoise,	kachhapah
	a turtle	
krīm	a tortoise,	kurmah
	a turtle	
vəḍdur	a weasel	udrah
sarup(h)	a snake	sarpah
tsəṛ	a sparrow	chatkah
		(Hindi chiriya)
kāv	a crow	kakah
kukil	a cuckoo	kokil
kwakur	a rooster, cock	kukkutah
ənz	a swan	hamsah
həṛ	starling, mynah	shāri
kakuv	the muddy goose	chakravākah
grad	a vulture	grdrah
brag	a heron	bakah
titur	a partridge	tittirah
byuch	a scorpion	vr̥schikah
məch	a housefly	makshikā
kyōm	a worm	kṛmi
pyush	a flea	plushi
		(Hindi: pissū)
buməṣīn	earthworm	bhūmisnu

Words for Colours:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
chhōt	white, bleached	shvēt
kruhun	black	kriṣṇah
		(cf. Hindi kanha)
shyām	black	shyāmah
nyūl	blue	nīlah
lyəḍdur	yellow	haridra
vwazul	red	ujjvalah
kātsur	brown	karchūrah
gurut	fair	gaura

Names of days of the week:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
āthvār	Sunday	ādityavārah (Hindi itvar, Sh. adit)
tsandrivār	Monday	chandravārah
bōmvār	Tuesday	bhaumavārah
bodvar	Wednesday	budhavārah
brasvār	Thursday	brhaspativārah
shokrivār	Friday	shukravārah
baṭavar	Saturday	bhaṭṭarakavārah

Names of edibles:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
nun	salt	lavaṇam
tīl	oil	tailam
tomul	rice	tanḍulam
dānyi	paddy	dhānyam
kinikh	wheat	kaṇikah
bati	cooked rice	bhaktam
dwad	milk	dugdham (Hindi dūdh)
gyav	ghee	ghṛtam
pōny	water	paniyam
hākh	pot-herb	shākam
vāngun	brinjal, egg-plant	vangan
ōluv	potatoe	ālukah
muj	radish	mūlikā
gāzir	carrot	garjaram (Pkt.gajjaram)
pālak(h)	spinach	pālankah
ruhun	garlic	lashunam
mīthy	fenugreek	mēthikā
karēli	bittergourd	karvēllakah
al	the bottle-gourd	alābu
hyambi	beans	shimbi (c.f Hindi chhīmī)

nyōm kēl	lime, lemon bannana	nimbūkah kadali (Pkt. kēlaō, Hindi: kēlā)
amb	mangoe	āmram (Pkt. ambam)
den dachh tang khazir	pomegranate grapes pear datepalm	dādim drākshā tanka kharjūrah (Pkt. khajjūrō)
nārjil əl tēl rong marits martsivāngun	coconut cardamom sesamum seed clove black pepper chilli	narikēlah ailā tila lavang maricha maricha+ vangana
mong	a species of pulse	mudgah (Pkt. muggo)
chani māh muṭh	gram, chick-pea a bean a kind of pulse, vetch	chanakah māshā mayasthah, makushthah
makey	corn, maize	markakā (Pkt. makkā+ika)
māchh khyatsir	honey a dish of rice and split pulse	mākshā krsharah (Hindi khichari)
ras lāyi shakkar shōnṭh zyur yangi gōr	juice, gravy parched grain unrefined sugar dried ginger cumin seed asfoetida molasses	rasah lājā sharkarā shunṭhi jirakah hingu guḍah (Hindi guṛ)

roṭ	a sweet cake offered to a god	rōṭah
-----	----------------------------------	-------

Names of the minerals also show the same tendency:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
swan	gold	swarna (Hindi sōnā)
rwap(h)	silver	raupya
tram	copper	tamra
shastir	iron	shastrakah
pārud	mercury	pārdah
kēnz	brass, bellmetal	kānsya

Names of objects of common use are mostly of Sanskrit derivation:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
kapur	cloth	karpaṭah (Pkt. kappadō, Hindi kaprā)
pōṭ	woollen cloth	paṭah
sitsan	needle	sūchika
raz	rope	rajju
sithir	cotton thread	sūtrah
trakir	balance	tarkarī
parmāni	weights	parimāna
prang/palang	couch	paryankah
bani	utencils	bhājana (Pkt. bhāyana, Guj. bhāṇun, bhāṇen, Sindh bānu)
vokhul	mortar	ulūkhalah
kazul	collyrium	kajjalam
kāṭh	wood	kaṣṭham
kammal	blanket	kambalam (Pkt. kammal)

mokhti	pearls	muktā
nāv	boat	nāva (Vedic)
dungi	a canoe, a large boat	drōṇa+kah (cf. Hindi donga)
shup	winnower	shūrpa
bḥhḥts	a large boat	vahitra, vohittha (c.f. Hindi bohit)
thal	a large plate of metal	sthālam (cf. Hindi thal)
gasi	grass	ghāsam (Hindi ghas)
kangir	a portable fire-pot, brazier	kāṣṭha+angāri+kā kā+angāri+kā
dand	a staff	danḍam
zal	a net	jālam
baji	a musical instrument	vādyā+kah (Hindi bājā)
vḍjy	a ring	valaya
kofur	camphor	karpūram
gḍdvi	a water vessel	gaḍukah
sranipath	a loincloth	snanapaṭṭam
ganti	bell	ghantā
sendir	vermilion	sindūrah
kapas	cotton	karpāsam (Pkt. kappāsam)
toh	chaff	tuṣā
turi	claironet	tūrya
bin	lute	vīṇā (Hindi bīn)
vḍnk	braid	vēnikā
vag	bridle	valgā (Hindi bag)
bḍty	wick	vartikā
kangany	comb	kankatikā

māl	garland	māla
	necklace	
bungir	bangle	vank+diminutive
	bracelet	affix rī
		(cf. Hindi bangrī,
		bangrī; Marathi
		bāngryā)
pulihōr	a shoe of	pula+kah
	grass or straw'	(Hindi pūlā)

Names of different seasons are peculiarly Sanskritic:

Name of the season	Kashmiri	Sanskrit
Spring	sont(h)	vasanta
summer	grishim	grīṣma
rainy season	vḍhrat	varsā+ṛituh
		(Hindi 'barsāt')
autmn	harud	sharad
winter	vandi	varṣānt

Etymology of words relating to physical, natural and environmental phenomena is quite interesting

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
sirī	sun	sūryah
(Muslim Kashmiri		
'akhtāb')		
tsḍndir	moon	chandra
tsḍndram		chandra+mas
		(Hindi
		'chandramā)
tārah (h)	stars	tārahah
nab	sky	nabhah
samśar	the universe	samsārah
	world	
thal	land	sthalah
vāv	air	vāyuh

tāp (h)	sunlight	ātapah
gāsh/prāgāsh	light	prakāsh
anigaṭi	darkness	andha-ghaṭā
ōbur	cloud	abhra
vuzimali	lightening	vidyut+mala
gagirāy	rumbling, thunder	gargarā
sōdir	sea, ocean	samudrah
sar	lake	sarah
kval	stream	kulyā
van	forest	van
sangar	shrnga	mountain
sangarmal	shrnga+mala	peaks
bunyul	earthquake	bhū+chala
		(Hindi bhūchāl)

Kashmiri numerals

Of particular interest in this context are Kashmiri numerals, cardinals as well as ordinals, which are amazingly Indo-Aryan, retaining old Sanskritic elements as hardly any other modern Indo-Aryan language does. In the Dardic languages Sanskrit **sh** does not change to **h** though in Prakrit/Kashmiri has a full fledged numeral system which by no stretch of imagination can be said to have any links with Dardic where counting is done in twenties. Siddheshwar Verma has very clearly shown that Kashmiri follows the Sanskrit-Pali pattern in its numerals¹⁷. Let us consider a few examples. Kashmiri is the only modern Indo-Aryan language that retains the Sanskrit **dvi** in the form of **du** in numerals that come after ten (barring twelve). Thus we have, **duhṭh** (Skt. **dva-śaṣṭhi**, Pali **dvasāṭṭhī**, Pkt. **bāsattḥī**); **dusatath** (Skt. **dvisaptati**, Pali **dvasattati**), **dunamath** (Skt. **dvanavati**). In all other Indo-Aryan languages including Prakrit, **d>b**, as in Hindi **bāsath**, **bahattar**, **bānave**. In the same way Kashmiri **shunamath** retains the **sh** of Sanskrit **saṇnavati**, whereas in other Indo-Aryan languages **sh>chh**, Hindi **chhiyanave**, Bengali **chheyānabbe**, Sindhi **chhanave** etc. Again, Kashmiri "**satath**"

is closer to the Sanskrit-Pali pattern and not to Prakrit in which the terminal **t** of **saptati** changes to **r**: Prakrit **sattari**, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi **sattar**, Sindhi **satari**.

It is amazing that Kashmir **deh** (Muslim Kashmir **dah**) and **hath** derived from Sanskrit **dash** and **shat** respectively, with **sh** and some other Indian languages like Marathi it does: (Skt. **dashamukha** Pkt. **dahamuh**; Marathi **daha** — ten) In the Dardic, and even Kafir languages, **sh** is generally retained. Thus we have: Kalash **dash**, Gwarbati **dash**, Garwi **dash**. Torwali **dash**, Shina **dai**, Maiya **dash**. In Kashmiri **shat** (**h**) as well **hath** are used for **hundred** **hath** for numbers below seven hundred and **shat** for numbers above it. But in Dardic languages **sh** is generally retained or changed to **s** as in Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages: Kalash **shor**, Garwi 'So, Torwali 'S0, Maiya **shal**, Shina **shal**.

The following table will make the position of Kashmiri numerals more clear:-

Numeral	Kashmiri	Sanskrit
one	akh	ēkah
two	zi	dvi
three	tre	tri
four	tsōr	chatur
five	pāntsh	pancha
six	shē	saṣṭha
seven	sat (h)	sapta
eight	ḍth	asta
nine	nnv	nava
ten	dḍh	dash
twenty	vuh	vimsha
thirty	trih	trimsha
forty	tsatijī (h)	chaturvimshata
fifty	pantsāh	panchashata
sixty	shēṭh	shaṣṭih
seventy	satat (h)	saptatih
eighty	shith	ashitih
ninety	namath	navatih
hundred	hath/shath	shata

thousand	sās	sahasra
lakh	lachh	laksha
crore	karōr	kōṭih

APPENDIX II

SOME EXAMPLES OF CONJUNCTION

- (1) k+t > tt: shakti > shatta, bhakti > bhatta, rakta > ratta; Mod. Kashmiri: rakta 'rath', 'bhakta (—rice) > bati, saktum > (parched rice) > sōt.
- (2) p+t tt/t : sapta > satta, avaptam > vātō. Mod. ksh.: sapta > sath, avāptām > vōt, tapta > tōt.
- (3) t+y ch: nrtya- > nachha - Mod. Ksh nrtya > nats, atyēti > Pkt. achēi > Ksh. ats
- (4) d+y jj: adya > ajja, vadyanti vajjan, Mod. Ksh: adya > az, vadyanti vazan.
- (5) g+dh > dh : dagdha > dadhō, dadhōs. Mod. Ksh. dagdha > dōd, dōdus.
- (6) dh+y > jj: madhya > majj (Pkt. majh, Hindi manjh); budhyate > bujje (Pali bujjhati, Pkt. bujjhai). Mod. Ksh: Madhya > manz, budhyatē > bōzi.
- (7) h+y > jj: dahyati > dajji Mod. Ksh: dahyati > dazi
- (8) d+v > b: dwitiya > Pkt. bēiya, bhiya, Mod. Ksh. bēyi, dwādash > bāh (Hindi bārah) dwār > bar (Punjabi bāri)
- (9) g+n > gg: lagnah > laggō Mod. Ksh. lagnah > lagun, lōg
- (10) g+n > nn: naghah > nannō Mod. Ksh. nagnah > nōn
- (11) t+m > p: ātman > pān (Pkt. appā, Hindi āp, Sindhi, pāṇu)

In conjuncts with sibilants, the sibilant generally elides:-

- (1) s+t > th, tth : stana > than, hastāt > atthā Mod. Ksh: stana > than, stabmbh > tham, hasta > athi
- (2) s+th > th: sthāl > thāl (Pali thāl', Pkt. 'thāl', Punj.

- 'thal' Assamese 'thal', Guj, 'thal; Marathi 'thal', Hindi 'thal' Skt. *stha* *piyitva* > *thavet*, *sthan* > *than*, Mod. Ksh: 'sthal' > *thal*, *sthapanam* > *thavun*, *sthal* > *thal*.
- (3) *s+ph* > *ph*: 'sphōṭayati' > *phoṭiy*; Mod. Ksh: 'sphōṭyati' > *phuṭi*
- (4) *s+m* > *s*: 'smar' > *sar*, *saret* (Pali 'sar' -, Pkt. 'sar'-) Mod. Ksh: 'smar' > *sar*
- (5) *sh+t/th* > *ttha*: *dr̥ṣṭvā* *diṭṭhō* (Pali *diṭṭhā*, Pkt. *daṭṭhā*, *diṭṭhā*, Guj. *Dithun*, Awadhi: *ditha*), *pristha* > *piṭṭhā*, *nistha* > *niṭṭhā*, *upaviṣṭa* > *biṭṭhā*; Mod. Ksh: *dr̥ṣṭwa* *dyūṭh*; *pr̥iṣṭha* > *pyath*, *piṭh*; *koṣṭha* > *kuṭh*; *oṣṭha* > *wuṭh*; *aṣṭa* > *ḍ*: *ṭh* *kāṣṭha* > *kāṭh* (Hindi *kāṭh*) *muṣṭi* > *mvaṭh* *pusta* > *pūth*, *jyēṣṭha* > *zyuṭh* (Hindi *jēṭhā*), *bhraṣṭa* *brēṭh*; *upaviṣṭa* > *byuṭh*.

Another point of similarity between phonology of *M.P.*, *B.K.* *S.D.C.* and Prakrit-Pali-Apabhramsha is elision of 'r' in r'-conjunction. The present writer was pleasantly surprised to come across the word '*piya*' (—beloved) in one of the most beautiful songs of Banasur Katha — *piya ma gatsh marnay*.

- (1) *k+r* > *k*: *krōdhē* > *kōdhē*, *krūr* > *kūr*, Mod. Ksh: *krūr* > *kūr*
- (2) *k+k* > *kk*: *chakra* > *chakka*, *shakra* > *shakka*; Mod. Ksh: *chukra* > *tsōk*, *nakrashirā* > Pkt. *nakkasirā* > Mod. Ksh. *nāsēr*
- (3) *t+r* > *t*: > *tatra* *tatte*, *tati*; *yatra* > *yatti*, *yati*; *atra* > *ati*, *trasen* > *trase*, *tri-* > *ti*. Mod. Ksh. *tatra* > *tati*; *yatra* > *yeti*, *atra* > *ati*, *rātri* > *rath*, *kutra* > *kati*
- (4) *r+ṇ/ṇ* > *n* (*n*): *varṇa* > *vanna*, *suvarṇa* > *suvanna*, *varṇaya* > *vannō*, (*ā*) *karṇē* > *ākannet*. Mod. Ksh.: *karna* > *kan*, *swarna* > *swan*, *parṇa* > *pan*, *chūrṇa* > *tsin*,
- (5) *r+m* > *mm*; *m*; *karma* > *kamma*, *marma* > *mamma* *charma* > *chamma* Mod. Ksh: *karma* > *k ḍm*, *charma* > *tsam*.

- (6) r+p > pp: darpa > dappa; arpit > appū;
Mod. Ksh: shurpa > shup; karpāsa > kapas
- (7) r+h > ll, l: yarhi > yille, tarhi > tillē,
Mod. Ksh: yarhi > yēli, tarhi > tēli

When 'r' is the second member of a conjunct, however, it does not elide, but is retained with a vocalic release:

- (1) Agrē > āgari, agrā; abhrāt > abhra; sahasra > sass;
nirgatah > nirēt, niri, nirim; sparsa > parshēt, Mod.
Ksh: abhra > ōbur, sahasra > sas, nirgatah > nēr;
sparsha > phash (Pkt. phassa)

The consonant 'r' is, however, generally retained in modern Kashmiri in initial, medial or final positions. The doubled consonants formed as a result of its elision have been simplified in course of further development of the language in case of words where it has been elided. There is no compensatory elongation of the vowel in Kashmiri for the words so formed, as usually happens in Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages. Thus **karna** > **kan** and not **kān** (as in Hindi), **swarna** > **swan** and not **sona**.

The joint letter **ksh** changes mostly to **chh** or **chchh**, but in some cases it changes to **kh** as happens in Mod. Ksh. too.

Here are some examples:

- (1) Ksh > chchh/chh: kshuṭ > chchot; akśhi > achchi
Mod. Ksh: kshut > tshōṭ, akshi > ɔchh, mandākshi
> mandachh, bubhukshā > bochhi, laksha > lachh,
vaksha > vachh, raksha > rachh, paksha > pachh,
kaksha > kachh, taksha > tachh, yaksha > yachh,
drākshā > dachh, mākhshā > mächh, kshālaya > chhal,
shikshā > hēchh, veksha > vuchh (Punj. vekh)
- (2) ksh > kkh/kh: tikshna > tikkhō
Mod. Ksh: Lakshmī > lōkhymī, sūkshma > sikhim,
paksha > (— wing) > pakh, kshamā > khyamā

The sibilants 'sh', 's' (cerebral 'sh') and 's' generally change to 'h' in Kashmiri though there are several exceptions.

- (1) sh/s > h: dasha > d̄h, ekādasha > k̄h, chaturdasha > chuddah, nāshan > nahen Mod. Ksh: dasha > d̄h, ekādasha > k̄h, chaturdasha > tsōdāh, nashan > nāhvun, sharad > harud, shat > hath, shuska > hōkh, kṛiṣṇa > krūhun, chūṣaṇa > tsihun, pēṣanam > pihun, vēṣaṇa > vaṭun, viṣam > vēh, tuṣ > tōh, manuṣya > mohnyuv, upavisha > beh; shun/shwān > hūn; shāri > h̄r, mashkah > mōh.
- (2) sh/s remains unchanged: shōbha > shūb, mahisa m̄sh, shūrpa > ṣhup, puṣa/puspa > pōsh, āshā > āsh, triṣ > trēsh, mṛiṣ mash-, lēsha > lish, prākāsh > gāsh.

Initial 'h' changes to 'a' in Kashmiri. There are only a few examples of this in *M.P. B.K. and S.D.C.*: hastāt > attha, hasti > asis

Mod. Ksh: hasta > athi, hasan > asun, haḍḍa > aḍḍa

Vowel changes occur in modern Kashmiri almost along the same lines as in *M.P. B.K. and S.D.C.* Examples of some of these are given below:-

- (1) a > ā: sahara > sāss, saphal > sāphul, nibhrit > nibharā, rakshakā > rākshē, sahit > sātē, priya > piyā, nashya > nāh. Mod. Ksh: sahasra > sās, rakshā > rachh-, nashya- > nāh;
- (2) a > u: Medial 'a' often changes to 'u' in Kashmiri nominative singular. This tendency is equally strong in *M.P., B.K. and S.D.C.*

Examples: Janaka > januk, anal > anul, varṣaṇa > varshun, tapōdhana > tapōdhun, sanrakshaka > sanrakshuk, Nārad > Nārud, Mādhava > Mādhuv.

Mod. Ksh.: bālak > bāluk, varṣaṇa > varshun, rakshaka > rakhyuk, takshaka > takhyuk, Nārada > Nārud, sarpah > sarup, bhramrah > bombur

- (3) ā > a: Like Maharashtri, Jain Maharashtri, Ardha-Magdhi Prakrits and Apabhramshas, ā > a in fem. nom. sing. in *M.P., B.K., and S.D.C.* Modern Kashmiri also exhibits this tendency. Examples: Pūjā > pūj,

- kathā > kath, bālā > bāl, Ushā (proper name) > Ush, mātā > māt Mod. Ksh.: Pūja > pūz, kathā > kath, bālā > bāl, Usa (proper name) > Ushi, māla > māl, sthāla > thāl
- (4) i > a: narpati > narpat, dinapati > dinapat, nāyikā > nayak, rishi > rish, rāshi > rāsh, rashmi > rashm, buddhi > buddh, shakti > shatta, bhakti > bhatta, agni > agna. Mod. Ksh.: rsi > ryōsh, gañapati > ganapat, rāshi > rāsh, buddhi > bwadh, gati > gath, prati > prath.
- (5) i > u: jiva > juv (Sindhi jiu, Panj, jiu, Kumanoni jyū, ziu, Bengali jiu, Marathi jīu, Hindi jiu) Mod. Ksh.: zuv
- (6) u > a: tribhuvan > tibhavan, Shambhu > Shambh, ashru > asra, kutah > katto, asur > asar, shatru > shatra, Viṣṇu > viṣṇa, Mod. Ksh.: ashru > ōsh, kutah > kati, shatru > shathir Vishnu > vēshin

APPENDIX III

(a) Guide to Pronunciation

Kashmiri

- a, as in bar, a door
 ā, as in bār, weight
 i, as in sir, a secret
 ī, as in sīr, a brick
 u, as in gur, a horse
 ū, as in gūr, a milk man
 i, as in tir, a rag
 i: as in ti:r, cold
 ě, as in yēti, here
 ē, as in yēr, wool
 ɔ, as in lɔr, a house
 ɔ:, as in lɔ : r, cucumber

ō, as in zōr, deaf

ō, as in brōr, a cat

ts, as in tsōr, more

tsh, as in tshōr, empty

r, (ri), as in r̥tu, (Skt.), season

ṭ, , as in ṭ ang, a pear

ṭh , as in ṭhūl, an egg

ḍ , as in ḍōl, a drum

ṛ , as in laṛāī (Hindi), a fight

ṛh , as in chaṛhāī (Hindi), ascent

ṇ (cerebraln), as in Karṇa (Skt.) an ear

ṣ (cerebral sh) as in bhāṣā (Skt.), language

(b) Abbreviations

Skt.	Sanskrit
Pkt.	Prakrit
Ksh.	Kashmiri
Mod.Ksh.	Modern Kashmiri
IA	Indo-Aryan
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
MIA	Mid Indo-Aryan
Panj.	Panjabi
Guj.	Gujrati
M.P.	Mahanay Prakash
B.K.	Banasur Katha
S.D.C.	Sukha—Dukha Charit

REFERENCES

1. Siddheshwar Verma, *The Antiquities of Kashmiri: An approach.* p 7.
2. See his *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts Made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central Asia* p. 89.
3. *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 280.
4. *Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 83.
5. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 844.
6. *The Antiquities of Kashmiri: An Approach*, p. 4.

7. S.K. Toshkhani, "Some Important Aspects of Kashmiri as a Language" *The Lala Rookh*, August 1967, p. 50.
8. G.A. Grierson, "The Linguistic Classification of Kashmiri", *Indian Antiquary* XLIV, p. 257.
9. *The Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. VIII. Part II. p. 259.
10. S.K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*. p. 256.
11. *The Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. VIII, Part IV: The Introduction p. 8.
12. Quoted by Murray B. Emenau in *AnL* VIII. No. 8, p. 282-83.
13. Ibid.
14. G.A. Grierson, *The Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. VIII, Part II, 251-2.
15. See T. Grahame Bailey, *Grammar of the Shina Language*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1924.
16. Help has been taken of Turners' *Comparative Dictionary of Modern Indo-Aryan Languages* for etymology of most of the words.
17. Siddheshwar Verma, *The Antiquities of Kashmir: An Approach*, p. 5-6.
18. Beams, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Languages of India*. p. 291.
19. *Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 86.
20. Ibid. p. 86.
21. G.A. Grierson, *The Language of Mahanay Prakash*, Para 274.

THE SHARADA SCRIPT: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

B.K.Kaul Deambi

Among the Western Himalayan scripts the Sharada alphabet has a place of pride. Evolved from north western Brahmi a millinium ago in the 9th century A.D. it remained in popular use for several centuries in an extensive area of Western Himalayas including North Western Frontier Province, Dardistan, Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh and Himachal Pradesh. The epigraphic and literary records written in this script, that have been found in these regions, have thrown light on many facets of the history and culture of the areas of their provenance¹. The inscriptions of the famous Hindu Shahi Dynasty of Kabul and Ohind and of the Shahi Dynasty of Gilgit, bulk of extant epigraphic and literary records of Kashmir produced from 9th century onwards, the inscriptions including the copper plate charters, fountain stone inscriptions and the temple inscriptions of the erstwhile Western Himalayan States of Chamba and Kangra, and the legends of the coins of the Shahis, the rulers of Kashmir and Mahmud of Ghazni are written in this script. This fact considerably enhances the value of the study of this important regional alphabet for the critical study and analysis of the valuable records written in this script and preserved in several celebrated museums and libraries of the world.

Like the Brahmi and the Kharoshti in the ancient period, the Sharada script in the early medieval period formed a vital link in the chain of communication of ideas, knowledge, and culture among the states comprised in the Western Himalayan region. Unfortunately the knowledge of this important script is fast disappearing threatening thereby the loss of this rich and proud heritage of Western Himalayas to posterity for ever.

As in this part of the country, the Brahmi (the well known national script of ancient India) continued to be the popular mode of writing in Western Himalayan region throughout the ancient period. This is indicated by several surviving epigraphic and literary records discovered from different parts of the region (see *infra*). During the long period of its use the Brahmi alphabet passed through several stages of development and its characters assumed different forms in different areas of its use and by about 7th and the succeeding centuries the original appellation gave way to new regional denominations like Bangala, Oriya, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu and Nagari. These scripts though direct descendants of the Brahmi showed several characteristic peculiarities so as to justify new nomenclatures.

The Sharada was one such denomination. It evolved as a direct descendant of the Brahmi around 9th century A.D. and covered a vast region extending from Afghanistan in the north-west to Delhi in the south-east. Though its characters showed remarkable resemblance with earlier Brahmi characters in use in the region, they exhibited several peculiar developments positive enough to justify a new appellation.

The earliest known records in which the Sharada characters appear for the first time are the coins of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir (9th century)² and a brief record incised on the fragment of a broken jar discovered from the precincts of the Avantiswami temple and containing the name of Avantivarma (855-883 A.D)—the founder of the temple³. Of about the same date is the Sarahan Prashasti

of queen Somaprabha, spouse of Satyaki, a ruling chieftain of Sarahan opposite Saho in ancient Chamba (Himachal Pradesh)⁴. Among the other records of slightly later date mention may be made of the Dewai (NWFP) inscription of the Shahi king Bhimadeva (10th century)⁵, inscriptions of the reign of queen Didda (A.D. 980/1 - 1003)⁶ in Lahore Museum and S.P.S.Museum, Srinagar, the Brahmor and Sungal (District Chamba, Himachal Pradesh) copper plate inscriptions of king Yugakaravarman and his son Vidagdhadeva⁷, Barikot and Hund (NWFP) inscriptions from Hund including that of the queen Kameshwari Devi.⁹

Sharada remained an alphabet par excellence of Kashmir till the present century and owed its name to the valley which from ancient times bore the alternative name of *Sharada-desha* and *Sharada-mandala* owing to its tutelary deity Sharada, the Goddess of Learning. The other name of the alphabet was *Siddha-matrika* by which name the script is referred to by Alberuni¹⁰. This name is due to the fact that the alphabet starts with the benediction *Om Swasti Siddham*. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal Pradesh and Punjab up to the 13th century when it was replaced by its descendant, the Devashesha which in turn gave rise to the modern alphabets of Gurmukhi and Takari. In Kashmir, however, its use continues to this day though it is confined to the older generation of the priestly class.

Considering the extent of the region over which the Sharada alphabet remained in use for a long time, the number of Sharada epigraphic records discovered so far is by no means very large. Hardly one hundred and odd inscriptions have been discovered so far, 13 in north Western Pakistan, 34 in Kashmir, 6 in Jammu, 5 in Ladakh, 39 in Himachal Pradesh and one in Delhi.

On the basis of the Sharada characters used in these records three successive stages of development of the Sharada alphabet can easily be discovered. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and coins of 9th-10th centuries, the second by those of the 11th-13th centuries

and the third and final by the epigraphic and literary records of the 14th and subsequent centuries.

While the use of the Sharada alphabet in the inscriptions dates from the 8th century A.D. its use in the manuscripts, however, is not known earlier than the 12th century when we find it first used in a manuscript discovered from the village Bakhshali in the Peshawar district of Pakistan¹¹. The manuscript, the title of which is lost, contains an important work on Mathematics, but bears no date. On palaeographic grounds, however, it can be assigned to the 12th century. Next in date is an old birch bark manuscript of *Munimata-mani-mala* which is the earliest known Sharada manuscript discovered so far in Kashmir, assignable on palaeographic ground to the 14th century¹². The other early known manuscripts are the birch bark manuscript of *Shakuntala*¹³, birch bark manuscript of the *Adi* and *Sabha* Parvan of the *Mahabharata* and the birch bark manuscript of *Kathasarit-sagara*,¹⁵ all assignable to 16th century.

ORIGIN¹⁶

- I. The Brahmi alphabet of north-western India of the 3rd century B.C., generally called the Mauryan alphabet, is represented by:
 - (1) The Kalsi Rock Edicts¹⁷
 - (2) The Delhi-Topra pillar-edicts¹⁸
 - (3) The Pathyar (District Kangra, Himachal Pradesh) rock inscription¹⁹.
- II. The Brahmi alphabet of north-western India of the 2nd century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, usually called the post-Mauryan alphabet, is represented among others by the following records:
 1. The coins of the Indo-Grecian Kings Agathocles the Pantaleon²⁰
 2. The inscriptions of the ksatrapa Sodasa²¹
 3. The Kanhiar (Dist. Kangra, H.P.) rock inscription²²
 4. The Bathtsal (Jammu) cave inscription²³.

The post Mauryan alphabet displays two remarkable developments.

- a. The shortening and the equalisation of the upper vertical lines,
 - b. the development of top marks represented by serifs, nail heads, or triangular wedges.
- III. The inscriptions of the Kusana kings-Kaniska, Huviska and Vasudeva²⁴, discovered from Mathura and its vicinity, illustrate the next step in the development of the Brahmi of north-western India.
- IV. Further development of our alphabet is illustrated by the following records of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. which represent the western variety of the northern Indian alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., generally called the Gupta alphabet:
1. The Abbotabad inscription of the time of Kadambesvara dasa (Gupta) year 25 = A.D. 344²⁵
 2. The Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II, G.E. 61 = A.D. 380²⁶
 3. The Mathura stone inscription of Chandragupta II²⁷
 4. The Shorkot inscription of the year 83²⁸
 5. The Tussam (Dist. Hissar) rock inscription²⁹
 6. The Lahore copper seal inscription of the Maharaj Mahesvaranaga³⁰ and
 7. The Bower manuscript³¹.
- V. In the following records of the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D., discovered in north-western India, we find further development of the forms of the Western Gupta alphabet leading to those of the Sharada in the 9th century.
1. Kura inscription of Toramana³²
 2. The Nirmand plate of Mahasamanta Maharaja Samudrasena³³
 3. The Sonapat Seal of Harsavardhana³⁴
 4. The Hatun rock inscription of Patoladeva³⁵
 5. The Gilgit manuscripts³⁶.

VI. We shall now discuss in detail the forms of the early Sharada characters as represented by the early records referred to above:

1. The initial **a** and **ā** retain the same form as noticed in the Bower Manuscripts and the records of the 6th-8th centuries.
2. In **i** however, we notice a significant development. The earlier curve below the two dots in turned round and drawn towards the left.
3. **ī** had the same form as in the Bower manuscripts.
4. **u** and **ū** also retain the same forms and do not display any significant change.
5. In **e** the development is marked by the addition of a wedge at the left top end.
6. **o** shows no change.
7. **k** also retains the forms of 6th and 7th centuries.
8. In **kh** the earlier downward stroke has been converted into a well formed vertical in the copper-plate inscriptions.
9. **g** shows a flat top and a wedge, a small triangle, a serif or a small upward stroke at the lower end of the left vertical.
10. **gh** and **ñ** do not present anything remarkable except **ñ** shows generally a serif at the right top end.
11. **c** occurs both in the rounded and quadrangular forms.
12. **j** shows a serif or a wedge at the right top end.
13. **jha** retains its earlier form.
14. **h** shows well developed top bar.
15. **t** occurs both in the archaic rounded form and the later developed form with a flat top.
16. Buhler mentions **ḍ** as one of the Sharada letters which exhibits a peculiar development. He describes it as showing a loop in the middle instead of an acute angle and a wedge at the lower end. However, it may be pointed out here that

the loop which occurs frequently in the later Sharada especially in the manuscripts is conspicuously absent in our early Sharada records. Moreover in place of the wedge at the lower end we sometimes find a fork as in the Brahmor copperplate and sometimes a small triangle as in the Sungal grant.

17. The cerebral nasal occurs both in the earlier form with a base stroke as, e.g., in the Sarahan prasasti and in the later form with the base suppressed and the two curves united and supported on the right by a small upward stroke. Occasionally we meet with a further developed form as, e.g., in the Brahmor plate where the letter is provided with a down stroke attached to its left and slanting towards the right.
18. **t** retains the same form as in the 6th and 7th centuries.
19. **th** mostly retains its earlier rounded form. In one instance in the Srinagar inscription of queen Didda, we find the letter with a flat top.
20. **d** does not present anything remarkable.
21. **dh** occurs in its ancient crescent form and in one inscription (Srinagar) the letter shows a quadrangular shape evidently caused by the flattening of the top and the bottom.
22. The dental nasal retains the form of the 6th and 7th centuries.
23. **p**, **ph** and **b** do not call for any special remark.
24. **bh** occurs in two forms either with an inverted wedge or with an open triangle. The triangle sometimes more open and less defined and the letter looks like **h**.
25. The letter **m** generally retains its earlier shape. Sometimes, however, the right hand vertical protrudes downwards and there appears a knob or a small triangle on the left.

26. The letter **y** is exclusively bipartite. It differs from the earlier form by a greater bulge on the left and by the occasional downward prolongation of the right hand vertical.
27. **r** generally shows a wedge at the lower end of the vertical on the left side. Sometimes the wedge is replaced by a small upward stroke and occasionally by a small triangle.
28. The letters **a** and **v** retain their earlier shapes.
29. **ś** is squarish in shape and has generally a wedge on the left. The wedge is sometimes replaced by a triangular loop and sometimes by a triangle left open on one side.
30. **s** preserves the form of the western Gupta character.
31. **s** is similar to **ś** but open at the top.
32. The letter **h** does not present anything remarkable.
33. Medial **ā** is expressed by means of a wedge or a serif attached to the top of the consonant on the right side. In case of consonants like **ñ**, **t** and **n** the **ā** sign is expressed by a hook or a semicircle and in case of **j** by a small vertical attached to the right end of the central stroke. In the latter case, the letter drops the top bar and the wedge attached to it.
34. The signs for medial **i** and **ī** are generally the same as in the preceeding centuries. Occasionally we find the vowel signs marked by the sickle shaped curves in the ancient manner.
35. Medial **u** is expressed in two ways:
 - (a) by a triangular wedge which sometimes assumes the shape of a short upward stroke or hook, attached to the foot of the vertical on the left side. In case of consonants like **ṇ**, **ḍ**, **ph**, **y** and **h** where the vertical is absent, the wedge is attached by means of a short vertical.
 - (b) by a curve which represents the initial **u**. In

case of **ru** the sign is expressed sometimes by attaching a downward steamer to the right of the letter.

36. Medial **u** is also expressed like the medial **u** in two ways:

(a) by a horizontal, sometimes wavy flag-like line, attached to the lower end of the vertical on the left side.

(b) by the subscribed sign for initial **ū**.

37. According to Buhler the angular medial **ṛ** is a peculiar development of the Sharada. But in our early Sharada records the shape of the curve, representing the medial **ṛ** is mostly rounded. The angular form occurs quite occasionally.

38. Medial **e** is expressed either by a stroke horizontal or slanting-placed over the consonant or by the **pristhamātrā**, i.e. by a wedge, serif or a small down stroke attached to the left end of the top bar.

39. Medial **ai** is expressed by the combination of two *l* symbols i.e., by the superscribed stroke and the **pristhamatra**.

40. Medial **o** is expressed in three distinct ways:

(a) by two wedges attached to the both ends of the top bar or in case of letters with open top to two top ends.

(b) by a superscribed slanting stroke accompanied by a wedge or a curve in case of **ṭ**, **n̄**, attached to the right end of the top bar.

(c) by a superscribed flourish.

41. Medial **au** is expressed by the superscribed **o** flourish combined with a wedge or a serif attached to the right end of the top bar.

42. Ligatures (see table)

As regards the ligatures the early Sharada alphabet preserves faithfully the ancient method of writing the conjunct consonants one below the other.

- 42.1 **K** retains its ancient form without the loop when

in combination with superscript vowels **u**, **r** or when forming the upper and the middle element of the ligature. As the final element it retains its usual looped shape.

- 42.2. The subscript **ñ** occurs in a form absolutely distinct from the superscript **ñ**. Its shape closely resembles the figure 3 and it occurs only in combination with **j**.
- 42.3. The lingual **ṭ** as a second member of the ligature occurs in its normal form in the early records. In later records it assumes a distinctive shape and consists of a semicircular curve open to the right and a slanting stroke attached to the foot of the upper consonant on the right.
- 42.4. The subscribed **ṭh** occurs mostly in combination with **ṣ**. It consists of a usual circular **ṭh** with a tail. Its shape normally is identical with the subscribed **ṭ** described above.
- 42.5. The dental **th** as the record or the final element of a signature considerably differs in shape from the **matrika**.

In the coins of the Utpalas of Kashmir and in the Sarahan prasasti it is expressed by a spiral or an inward curve drawn from left to right. In the Hund inscription it consists of a curve which starting from left sharply turns round and ends in a tail on the right. In the Brahmor copper-plate it is rendered by a long drawn curve open on the right and with a hook at its lower end. In the Sarikot inscription and the Sungal grant sometimes the curve forming the spiral instead of turning inside turns sharply round and moves towards the left.

- 42.6. The subscribed **y** preserves the form of the Kusana and the Gupta inscriptions.
- 42.7. Buhler has drawn attention to one of the peculiar features of the Sharada according to which **r** as the first part of the ligature is inserted into the left side of the second letter. In general the super-

script **r** retains its full form with the vertical slightly shortened. In ligatures **rn**, **rth**, **rdh**, it does not preserve its distinctive shape and usually loses its bottom part. In the ligature **YU** it is marked only by a small excrescence on the left curve of the subscribed **U**. In the group **ry** it is expressed by a short vertical to which the curve of **ŷ** is attached in one continuous stroke.

42.8. In ligatures where **r** forms the middle or the final element, it is rendered by an upward stroke attached to the lower end of the upper consonant on the left.

42.9. The subscribed **U** in the ligature **sv** is generally triangular in shape.

VII SHARADA ALPHABET (11th - 13th Centuries)³⁷

1. The vowels **ā** and **a** retain their earlier forms and do not exhibit any significant change. Only in very rare cases do we find the letter with a closed top.
2. The initial **I** shows a distinct development, the two dots which stood previously on either side of the central vertical now appear above the top of the letter.
3. **k** in certain cases develops a second loop to the right evidently caused by the contact of right hand curve with the central vertical.
4. In **gh** the development is marked by the elongation of the right hand stroke which henceforth becomes the regular feature of the letter.
5. **c** occurs mostly in quadrangular form. The ancient rounded form occurs rarely.
6. **t** occurs regularly with a flat top and generally with a wedge or a serif at the right top end. The archaic rounded form becomes rare.
7. **ḍ** shows regularly a wedge or a serif at the lower end.
8. Of the three forms of cerebral **ṇ** noticed earlier one with the connecting base stroke becomes rare.

9. **th** shows a flat top and is lozenge or rectangular in shape. Ancient crescent form becomes rare.
10. **dh** shows regularly a flat top and is usually angular in shape.
11. **bh** generally shows a wedge in the middle. In some cases the wedge is replaced by a triangular loop.
12. **y** occurs sometimes with a closed top.
13. In **ṣ** the vertical on the right sometimes protrudes downwards.
14. **s** occurs more frequently with a wedge and occasionally with a triangular loop at the left lower end.
15. **Virāma** is expressed by a slanting stroke running through the right top end of the vowel-less consonant. The consonants with which the **virāma** is attached appear in modified forms in the copper-plate inscription. Generally they retain their fuller and complete forms.
16. Medial **e** and **si** are now formed more often by the superscribed strokes placed over the top of the consonant and less frequently by the **pristhamātrā**.
17. Medial **o** is expressed more often by superscribed flourish and less frequently by a wedge at the left top end combined with a superscribed **e** stroke. The ancient method of two wedges attached to both sides of the top of the letter becomes rare.
18. The subscribed **r** is rendered sometimes by a long slanting stroke drawn from left to right and attached to lower end of the upper consonant. The form of the subscribed **r** becomes more common in the later periods.
19. The 'S' like form of the subscribed **th** which occurred occasionally in the earlier record now becomes more common.

VIII SHARADA ALPHABET (14th-16th centuries)³⁸

1. The initial **ā** and **a** are generally closed at the top.
2. The initial **i** displays significant development. The earlier two dots above the curve are converted with a small curve facing downwards and attached to a small upward stroke at the right end.
3. In initial **o** the earlier wedge at the left top end is converted with a vertical stroke.
4. The letter **k** occurs in a double looped form.
5. The earlier wedge at the left top end in the palatal nasal **ñ** develops into a vertical stroke as in the case of initial **o**.
6. **th** occurs only in a quadrangular form.
7. **dh** shows regularly a well developed top bar.
8. **y** occurs with a closed top.
9. Medial **a** and **ai** are rendered more regularly by subscribed strokes. The use of **pristhamātrā** is rare.
10. Medial **o** is rendered only by the superscribed flourish. The other methods used earlier become absolute.
11. The subscript **th** in the ligature **sṭh** is invariably rendered by a loop with a tail attached to it on the right side.

IX. FINAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The initial vowels **a** and **ā** occur regularly with closed tops. The left hand lower curve is suppressed and the upper curve attached to the top bar.
2. In initial **e** and **o** the wedges at the left top ends have been replaced by the vertical down strokes.
3. **k** occurs regularly in double looped form.
4. **j** undergoes significant change. The letter drops the central stroke and the top stroke is replaced by two small connected curves with a small upward stroke attached to them at the right end.
5. **y** occurs exclusively with a top closed by means of a horizontal stroke.

6. The medial **ā** is **jā** is expressed by a small circular loop attached to the right end of the top horizontal bar. It is denoted sometimes by a curve which issuing from the right end of the top bar touches the left hand vertical in the middle. Usually the curve touches the left hand vertical at its upper end. In **jā** the two curves at the upper end are regularly replaced by the horizontal bar.
7. The Medial **u** is expressed, besides the usual flag like line by the combination of two curves of initial **u**. These curves are attached to the bottom of the consonant. Sometimes one below the other, sometimes back to back and occasionally they form very peculiar combinations of two curves of initial **u**. These curves are attached to the bottom of the consonant.
8. The medial **c** is expressed exclusively by a horizontal stroke placed above the consonant.
10. The long drawn streamlet for **virāma** becomes long vertical.

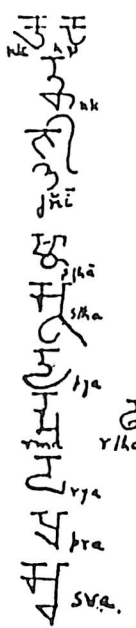
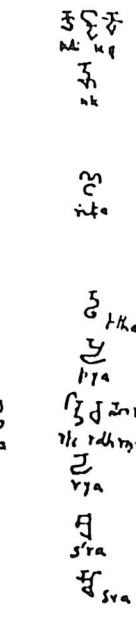
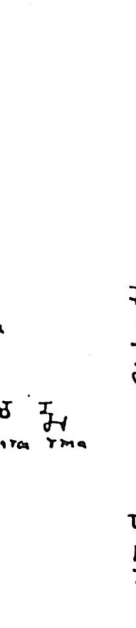
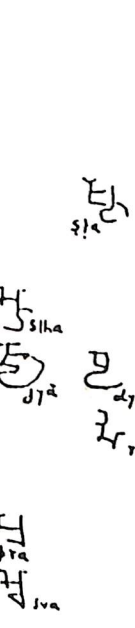

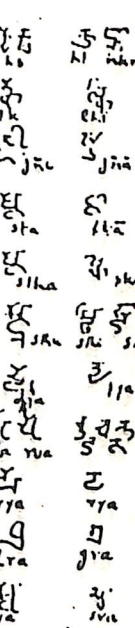
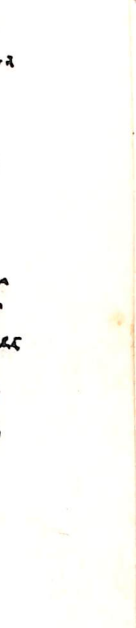
EVOLUTION OF SHARADA ALPHABET							
BRAHMI ALPHABET OF NORTH WESTERN INDIA							SHARADA
	C. 300 B.C.	2nd Cent. BC to 1st Cent. AD	1st-3rd Cent.	4th-5th Cent.	6th-7th Cent.	8th Cent.	9th-10 Cent.
अ अ	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅	𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
आ आ	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
इ इ	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸			𑀅𑀸𑀓
उ उ		𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸				𑀅𑀸
ए ए	𑀅𑀸		𑀅𑀸		𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓
ऐ ऐ					𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸
ऋ ऋ			𑀅𑀸				
ॠ ॠ	𑀅𑀸		𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓
क क	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
ख ख	𑀅𑀸𑀓		𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓		𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
ग ग	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
घ घ	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸		𑀅𑀸𑀓
ङ ङ			𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
च च	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓
छ छ	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸	𑀅𑀸		𑀅𑀸𑀓

EVOLUTION OF SHARADA ALPHABET								
BRAHMI ALPHABET OF NORTH WESTERN INDIA							SHARADA	
	C. 300 B.C.	2nd Cent. BC to 1st Cent. AD	1st-3rd Cent.	4th-5th Cent.	6th-7th Cent.	8th Cent.	9th-10 Cent.	
𑀓 𑀔	𑀓𑀔	𑀓		𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓𑀔𑀕𑀖𑀗	
𑀘 𑀙	𑀘		𑀘	𑀘			𑀘	
𑀚 𑀛				𑀚𑀛	𑀚		𑀚𑀛	
𑀞 𑀟	𑀞	𑀞	𑀞	𑀞	𑀞		𑀞𑀟𑀠𑀡𑀢	
𑀤 𑀥	𑀤	𑀤	𑀤	𑀤	𑀤		𑀤	
𑀦 𑀧	𑀦𑀧	𑀦	𑀦	𑀦	𑀦		𑀦𑀧	
𑀨𑀩	𑀨		𑀨𑀩	𑀨𑀩	𑀨𑀩	𑀨		
𑀫 𑀬			𑀫𑀬𑀭	𑀫𑀬	𑀫𑀬𑀭	𑀫𑀬	𑀫𑀬𑀭	
𑀯𑀰	𑀯𑀯	𑀯	𑀯	𑀯𑀰	𑀯𑀰	𑀯𑀰	𑀯𑀰𑀱𑀲	
𑀴𑀵	𑀴	𑀴	𑀴	𑀴𑀵	𑀴𑀵	𑀴𑀵	𑀴𑀵𑀶𑀷	
𑀺𑀻	𑀺	𑀺	𑀺𑀻	𑀺𑀻	𑀺𑀻	𑀺𑀻	𑀺𑀻𑀼𑀽	
𑀿𑁀	𑀿	𑀿	𑀿	𑀿	𑀿	𑀿	𑀿𑁀𑁁𑁂	
𑁆𑁇	𑁆𑁇	𑁆	𑁆𑁇	𑁆𑁇	𑁆𑁇	𑁆𑁇	𑁆𑁇𑁈𑁉	
𑁊𑁋	𑁊	𑁊	𑁊𑁋	𑁊𑁋	𑁊𑁋	𑁊𑁋	𑁊𑁋𑁌𑁍	
𑁎𑁏	𑁎	𑁎	𑁎𑁏	𑁎𑁏	𑁎𑁏	𑁎𑁏	𑁎𑁏𑁐𑁑	
𑁔𑁕	𑁔𑁕	𑁔	𑁔𑁕	𑁔𑁕	𑁔𑁕	𑁔𑁕	𑁔𑁕𑁖𑁗	
𑁙𑁚	𑁙	𑁙	𑁙𑁚	𑁙𑁚	𑁙𑁚	𑁙𑁚	𑁙𑁚𑁛𑁜	
𑁞𑁟	𑁞𑁟	𑁞	𑁞𑁟	𑁞𑁟	𑁞𑁟	𑁞𑁟	𑁞𑁟𑁠𑁡	
𑁤𑁥	𑁤𑁥	𑁤	𑁤𑁥	𑁤𑁥	𑁤𑁥	𑁤𑁥	𑁤𑁥𑁦𑁧	
𑁨𑁩	𑁨𑁩	𑁨	𑁨𑁩	𑁨𑁩	𑁨𑁩	𑁨𑁩	𑁨𑁩𑁪𑁫	
𑁯𑁰	𑁯𑁰	𑁯	𑁯𑁰	𑁯𑁰	𑁯𑁰	𑁯𑁰	𑁯𑁰𑁱𑁲	
𑁴𑁵	𑁴𑁵	𑁴	𑁴𑁵	𑁴𑁵	𑁴𑁵	𑁴𑁵	𑁴𑁵𑁶𑁷	
𑁺𑁻	𑁺𑁻	𑁺	𑁺𑁻	𑁺𑁻	𑁺𑁻	𑁺𑁻	𑁺𑁻𑁼𑁽	
𑁿𑂀	𑁿𑂀	𑁿	𑁿𑂀	𑁿𑂀	𑁿𑂀	𑁿𑂀	𑁿𑂀𑂁𑂂	
𑂆𑂇	𑂆𑂇	𑂆	𑂆𑂇	𑂆𑂇	𑂆𑂇	𑂆𑂇	𑂆𑂇𑂈𑂉	
𑂊𑂋	𑂊𑂋	𑂊	𑂊𑂋	𑂊𑂋	𑂊𑂋	𑂊𑂋	𑂊𑂋𑂌𑂍	
𑂯𑂰	𑂯𑂰	𑂯	𑂯𑂰	𑂯𑂰	𑂯𑂰	𑂯𑂰	𑂯𑂰𑂱𑂲	
𑂴𑂵	𑂴𑂵	𑂴	𑂴𑂵	𑂴𑂵	𑂴𑂵	𑂴𑂵	𑂴𑂵𑂶𑂷	

THE SHARDA ALPHABET

8th-10th Cent. A. D.

LIGATURES

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
HCND INSCRIPTION (HARSA), 68-69=A.D. 774-75	COINS OF UTPALAS A.D. 855-910 A.D.	SARAHAN PRASASTI c 9th Century	DEWAI INSCRIPTION c 940-960 A.D.	BARICOT INSCRIPTION c 960-980 A.D.	S.P.S. MUSEUM IMAGE INSCRIPTION (L) 65=A.D. 989	SRINAGAR INSCRIPTION (L) 68=A.D. 992	BAHMOR COPPER PLATE 10th Cent.	SUNGAL COPPER PLATE 10th Cent
								

DEVELOPMENT OF SHARADA ALPHABET									
	9th-10th Cent.	11-13th Cent.	14th-16th Cent.	MODERN		9th-10th Cent.	11-13th Cent.	14th-16th Cent.	MODERN
a	अ अ	अ अ	अ अ	अ अ	ā	अ अ	अ अ	अ अ	अ अ
ā	आ आ	आ आ	आ आ	आ आ	ā	आ आ	आ आ	आ आ	आ आ
i	इ इ	इ इ	इ इ	इ इ	i	इ इ	इ इ	इ इ	इ इ
ī	ई ई	ई ई	ई ई	ई ई	ī	ई ई	ई ई	ई ई	ई ई
u	उ उ	उ उ	उ उ	उ उ	u	उ उ	उ उ	उ उ	उ उ
ū	ऊ ऊ	ऊ ऊ	ऊ ऊ	ऊ ऊ	ū	ऊ ऊ	ऊ ऊ	ऊ ऊ	ऊ ऊ
ṛ	ऋ ऋ			ऋ ऋ	ṛ	ऋ ऋ	ऋ ऋ	ऋ ऋ	ऋ ऋ
ṝ	ॠ ॠ			ॠ ॠ	ṝ	ॠ ॠ	ॠ ॠ	ॠ ॠ	ॠ ॠ
e	ए ए	ए ए	ए ए	ए ए	e	ए ए	ए ए	ए ए	ए ए
ai				ऐ ऐ	ai	ऐ ऐ	ऐ ऐ	ऐ ऐ	ऐ ऐ
o	ओ ओ	ओ ओ	ओ ओ	ओ ओ	o	ओ ओ	ओ ओ	ओ ओ	ओ ओ
au				औ औ	au	औ औ	औ औ	औ औ	औ औ
k	क क	क क	क क	क क	k	क क	क क	क क	क क
kh	ख ख	ख ख	ख ख	ख ख	kh	ख ख	ख ख	ख ख	ख ख
g	ग ग	ग ग	ग ग	ग ग	g	ग ग	ग ग	ग ग	ग ग
gh	घ घ	घ घ	घ घ	घ घ	gh	घ घ	घ घ	घ घ	घ घ
ṅ	ङ ङ	ङ ङ	ङ ङ	ङ ङ	ṅ	ङ ङ	ङ ङ	ङ ङ	ङ ङ
c	च च	च च	च च	च च	c	च च	च च	च च	च च
ch	छ छ	छ छ	छ छ	छ छ	ch	छ छ	छ छ	छ छ	छ छ
j	ज ज	ज ज	ज ज	ज ज	j	ज ज	ज ज	ज ज	ज ज
jh	झ झ	झ झ	झ झ	झ झ	jh	झ झ	झ झ	झ झ	झ झ
ñ	ञ ञ	ञ ञ	ञ ञ	ञ ञ	ñ	ञ ञ	ञ ञ	ञ ञ	ञ ञ
t	ट ट	ट ट	ट ट	ट ट	t	ट ट	ट ट	ट ट	ट ट
th	ठ ठ	ठ ठ	ठ ठ	ठ ठ	th	ठ ठ	ठ ठ	ठ ठ	ठ ठ
d	ड ड	ड ड	ड ड	ड ड	d	ड ड	ड ड	ड ड	ड ड
dh	ढ ढ	ढ ढ	ढ ढ	ढ ढ	dh	ढ ढ	ढ ढ	ढ ढ	ढ ढ
n	न न	न न	न न	न न	n	न न	न न	न न	न न
ṇ	ण ण	ण ण	ण ण	ण ण	ṇ	ण ण	ण ण	ण ण	ण ण

REFERENCES

1. See Deambi, Kaul, B.K., *History and culture of Ancient Gandhara and Western Himalayas*. Ariana Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985.
2. Cunningham, A, *Coins of Medieval India: Hindu Coinage of Kashmir*, Plates II-IV.
3. Deambi, Kaul, B.K., *Corpus of the Sharada Inscriptions of Kashmir*. No. 33, pp. 133ff. Plate 13.
4. Vogel J.P.H., *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Part I pp. 152 ff. Plate XV.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, p. 298 and plate.
6. Demabi, Kaul, *op. cit.* Nos. 1 & 2 pp. 97 ff. and plate 1-2.
7. Vogel, *op. cit.* pp. 159 ff. Plate XVI; pp. 164 ff. plate XVII.
8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 97 ff. and plate.
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 301 f. and Plate; Abdur Rahman Vol. XXI, pp. 301 f. and Plate; Abdur Rahman, *Journal of Central Asia*, Peshawar, pp. 71 ff. and Plate.
10. Alberuni, *Tahqiqi Hind*, Eng. Translation by Sachau, vol. I, p. 173.
11. The manuscript has been edited with facsimiles by Kaye, G.R. in *Archeological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLIII, Parts I & II.
12. The Manuscript in a deplorable condition is preserved in the Sanskrit Manuscripts library of the Department of Reseach and Publications, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar.
13. The manuscript represents the Kashmirian recension of Kalidasa's *Abhijnana Shakuntala*. Purchased in 1875 in Kashmir by G. Buhler the manuscript is mentioned in the Deccan College, Pune, Catalogue of 1875/76 under No. 192.
14. Deccan College, Pune catalogue 1875/76 no. 159.
15. Preserved in Sanskrit Manuscripts Library, J&K Govt., Srinagar.
16. For a comprehensive study of the subject see Author's *Corpus of Sharada Inscriptions of Kashmir* Section I: Origin and Development of the Sharada Script. Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1982.
17. Hultzs, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Inscription of Ashoka, pp. 27ff and plates facing pp. 44, 50.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 119 ff, and plates facing pp. 122, 123, 128 and 134.
19. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 116 and plate.
20. Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, plates 3-4.
21. *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 119 Nos. 2, 5 and plates. Cunningham A. *Archaeological Survey of India, Report*, Vol. III p. 30 No. 1 p. XIII.
22. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 116 No. 16 and plate.
23. Kak, R.C. *Antiquities of Maru Wadvan*, pp. 25-26.

24. *Epigraphia Indica* vol. 1 pp. 371 ff; vol.II, pp. 195 ff. Plates.
25. *Epigraphia Indica*,Vo. XXX, p. 59 and plate.
26. *Ibid.* Vol. XXI, pp. 8-9 and plate.
27. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 25-27, plate III A.
28. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, p. 15 and plate.
29. Fleet, *op. cit.* pp. 269-70, plate XL A.
30. *Ibid* pp. 282-83, plate XLIII A.
31. Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscripts. Archeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series.* Vol. XXII.
32. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 1, p. 239 and plate.
33. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 286 ff., plate XLIV.
34. *Ibid.* pp. 232. 32. plate XXXII B.
35. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 226 ff. plate XXIV.
36. Facsimiles edited by Raghuvir and Lokesh Chandra.
37. For detailed reference of the Sharada records belonging to this period see Author's *op. cit.* pp. 41-43 fnn, 67-84.
38. *Ibid.* pp. 50-51 fnn. 88-94.

THE DOGRI LANGUAGE

Ved Kumari Ghai

Dogri-the language of the Dogras is spoken in the region which includes parts of three States, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and undivided Punjab. The whole of Jammu Province south of Pir Panjal, some parts of Himachal Pradesh, viz. Kangra, Chamba, Kullu, Mandi, Suket, some parts of Punjab viz. Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Nurpur, Hoshiarpur and some parts of Pakistan, viz. Shakargarh tehsil of Sialkot comprise the area of Dogri language (Ghai 1965, Shivanath 1976). John Beams including Dogri in the group of eleven Indian languages gives its area as lying between the Punjab and the valley of Kashmir. (*Outlines of Indian Philology*, p. 11). According to Professor Gauri Shankar, three terrains form the Dogra region, *Kandi* (the lower hills), *Andarwah* (riverine region lying in the plains) and *Pahari* (mountaineous region) (Gauri Shankar 1981). Dogri is a feminine form of the word Dogra which is a tribal name signifying the people of Duggar. Various views have been expressed about the origin of the word Duggar from Dvigarta (Gauri Shankar, 1981), Durgaha (H.R. Divakar 1970), Dungar (Prashant, *Research Bi-annual* Vol. 1, pp. 71-74) and Durga (Gauri Shankar 1981, Shivanath 1976). The last one corroborated by a Chamba copper plate inscription of the eleventh century (Vogll, 1911, p. 183) seems to be the most plausible.

In the census of 1961 the number of the Dogri speakers of Jammu is given as 8,69,199. The number has gone upto 15 lacs in the census of 1981 (*Dogri Shodh* p. 3) but this does not include the speakers of various other dialects which come under Western Pahari. Taking all these dialects together the Dogri speakers number approximately fifty lacs.

History

The earliest known mention of Dogri language is found in Amir Khusru's list of Indian languages—Sindhi, Lahauri, Kashmiri, Dogri, Dhursamundari, Tilangi, Gujarati, Malbari, Gaudi Bengali, Awadhi and Dehalavi. As Amir Khusru lived from 1253 to 1325 AD, the existence of Dogri language earlier to 13th century is proved. Inscriptions dating from 12th century AD contain Dogri expressions (See *Dogri Inscriptions* by Shivnath. 1976. pp. 52-55) and R.N. Shastri's *Dogri Shodh*. 1981. pp 40ff) refer to some sanads, letters, agreements and title deeds written in Takri script and Dogri language dating from 1750 AD to 1860 AD. The earliest extant Dogri work is *Rajauli*, a Dogri translation by Tehaldas from the original Persian work by Bali Ram. The work was translated for Raja Dhyan Singh of Kotla in the latter half of 18th century AD (Gauri Shankar, *Sapta Sindha*. 1972), Rev. Carey mentioned Dogri in his list of Indian languages in 1916. A Dogri translation of the New Testament is said to have been published by Christian missionaries of Sirampur. A few pieces of Dogri poetry of Dattu of second half of 18th century and of Rudradatta, Ganga Ram and Lakkhu of the 19th century are available. Jyotishi Vishveshar translated *Lilavati*, a Sanskrit work on Mathematics into Dogri in 1873 AD. It was in the 20th century that Dogri writing showed a quick growth in various fields of poetry, prose, novels, short stories, plays etc.

Dogri belongs to the Indo European family of languages in India and is derived from Sauraseni Prakrit. (Gauri Shankar 1981, B.K. Shastri 1981). Vocabulary of Dogri is largely derived from Sanskrit but it has absorbed a large

number of Arabic, Persian and English words, e.g., **asar** (effect) **araj** (request), **tariff** (praise) are Arabic; **Kos'as'** (effort), **gajaa** (subsisting) **nagarani** (inspection) are derived from Persian; **tagma** (medal) **bahadar** (brave) are of Turkish origin; **afasar**, **injan**, **pulas**, **faisan**, **taim** etc. are from English words-officer, engine, police, fashion, time etc.

Dialects

Grierson describes Dogri as a dialect of Punjabi and Kandyali, Kangra and Cameali as its three sub-dialects. (*Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. IX Part I). Some Punjabi writers like Ujjal Singh Bahri (*Punjabi Ate O'tar Bharati Bhashavan*, p. 91), Piara Singh Padam (*Punjabi Bhasadi vadi* p. 107), Harpirat Singh (*Punjabi dia upa bhas ava te upabolia* in *Punjabi Dunia* Dec. 1978. p. 58) have expressed a similar opinion, but the veteran linguist Dr. Siddheshwar Verma has pointed out that Dogri is structurally an independent language (*Namcetana* Oct.-Dec. 1967) and not a dialect of any other language. Shivnath mentions seventeen dialects spoken in the area of Duggar. These are standard Dogri, Kandyali, Kangri, Bhatiali, Sirmauri, Baghati, Kiunthali, Kului, Gujari, Rambani, Pongli, Hoshiarpur Pahadi and Lahnda. Bhadrawahi, Rambani and Pongli have common features with Dogri and Kashmiri while Kangri, Hoshiarpur Pahadi and Lahnda have common features with Dogri and Punjabi.

LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

Some prominent phonological features of Dogri are:-

- a. Initial **v**, **y** are changes to **b**, **j**.
- b. **Ch** generally changes into **S**.
- c. Voiced aspirates of Hindi-**gh**, **Jh**, **dh**, **bh** are changed to unvoiced and voiced mutes with tones.
- d. Velar and palatal nasals occur initially also **nūr** (grapes) **ñānā** (child).
- e. Nasalization is phonemic **jā**, **jān**.

- f. Vowel length and consonant length are phonemic.
- g. As stress and tone go together, tone only can be regarded phonemic **la** (to place), **lā** (to take down), **la** (to shake).
- h. There is free variation between **s** and **s'**, **sirak**, **śirak**.
- i. Syllabic system of Dogri does not possess CVCCV̄CV (bajjāra), C̄VCVCCV (Kāpatta), C̄VCV̄C̄V̄ (Cālākī)

The main morphological characteristics of Dogri are:-

- a. Preference for passive voice constructions **mere sā nēi** Janoda (I can not go).
- b. The use of **hā**, **thā**, **ā**, **hī**, **he**, **thī**, **thē** etc. for the expressions **was/were**.
- c. The conjugation of the auxiliary verb in accordance with the gender of the subject unlike Punjabi where it remains unchanged.

e.g. Punjabi: Rājā ge da sī.

The king had gone

Dogri: Rājā ge da hā.

Punjabi: Rāni gei di sī.

The queen had gone

Dogri: Rānī gei di hī.

- d. The use of additional vowel **i** in the past verbal forms like **turi gea**, **sunilea**. (Had gone, had heard).
- e. The special pronominal forms like **tugi** (to you), **migi** (to me).
- f. Post positions like **Kanne** (with) **kaśā** (from).
- g. Special liking for forms ending in **u** e.g. **cacu** (father), **kurtu** (shirt), **manu** (human being).
- h. Verb stems made with **er**, e.g. **khaderanā** (to make stand), **baderanā** (to give bath).

On analysing the phonology, the grammar and the vocabulary of Dogri, one can observe easily that Dogri like many other modern Indian languages has a very strong Sanskrit base. Sanskrit words have been received in Dogri either in pure form (**Tatsama**) or with some phonetic changes (**Tadbhava**). Even some Vedic words which are not preserved in classical Sanskrit are preserved in a slightly

changed form in Dogri. Thus the word **Sosa** used for summer season occurs in *Vajasaneyi Samhita* and this has been preserved in Dogri in the form **Sohā**. The Vedic word **Budhna** is preserved in Dogri in the form **Būnna**. Sanskrit words are mostly used in Dogri conversation at the time of religious functions and social functions having a touch of religion. While worshipping girls in Devi Pujana the term **kañjaka** is used which is derived from Sanskrit **kanyaka** but the pure form **kanya** is used in marriage ceremony. Many pure Sanskrit words like **agnihotra**, **kuṣā**, **jala**, **dīksā**, **kalaśa**, **puṣpa**, **āsana**, **dakṣinā**, **kunḍa**, **tapa samādhi**, **vidya**, **brahma**, **jiva**, **atma** are used in religious and philosophical talk. Like many other modern Indian languages Dogri uses pure Sanskrit terminology in the fields of grammar, poetics and philosophy.

As regards **tadbhava** words from Sanskrit, Dogri has thousands of such words with regular phonetic changes which prove its close relationship with Sanskrit, Hindi, Punjabi etc. The following lists of words prove this:-

- I. Dogri has a tendency to drop the initial vowel of Sanskrit and Hindi words which are not monosyllabic:

Sanskrit/Hindi	English	Dogri
ananda	joy	nanda
anartha	calamity	nartha
adhīna	dependent	dhīna
akāla	famine	kāla
adhyaya	chapter	dhyā

- II. Initial **y**, **v** of Sanskrit words are changed into **j** and **b**. This change occurs after a prefix also:

Sanskrit/Hindi	Dogri
nirvāha	narbāh
vistāra	bastāra
vasanta	basanta

vidyut	bijja
vela	beta
vilāpa	balāpa
vedanā	bedana
visvāsa	bisvāsa
vicitra	bacittara
viyoga	bajoga
vipat	bipat
yasā	jasā
yogi	jogī
yajña	jagga
yukti	jugat
yātrā	jātrā

III. Medial y, u are generally changed to i, u and assimilated with other vowels:

Sanskrit/Hindi	Dogri
nayana	nain
vinayaka	banaik
lavana	luna
bhavana	bhauna

IV. The sound y occurring between two a sounds disappears:

Sanskrit/HindiDogri

Himalaya	Himala
Sivāláya	Sivāla
niscaya	niścā
samśaya	saimsā

V. Two consonants are often assimilated just as in Prakrit and Punjabi.

Sanskrit/Hindi**Dogri/Punjabi**

bhakta

bhatta

tattua

tatta

satya

sacca

sarpa

sappa

karma

kamma

carma

camma

sapta

satta

lagna

lagga

phalguna

phaggana

VI. Cerebral ण is changed to **kh** or **s** in Dogri.**Sanskrit/Hindi****Dogri**

Varṣā

barakha

dhanuṣ

dhanakha

niṣiddha

nikhiddha

rāśi

rāsa

nāśa

nāsa

śīta

sītā

sabda

sadda

VII. The sound **ksa** is changed to **kha** as in Punjabi and sometimes to **cha** as in Kashmiri.**Sanskrit/Hindi****Dogri**

ksina

khina

aksata

akhata

ksatriya

khatri

yaksa

jakkha

ksal

chal

kaksa

kacha

laksmi

lachmi

naksatra

nakhattar/nachattar

drāksā

dākha

VIII. Dogri is nearer to Sanskrit in preservation of sound **r** than other languages like Hindi.

Sanskrit	Dogri	Hindi
patra	pattar	pattā
nidrā	nīdar	nīda
ksetra	khettar	kheta
-grāma	grā	gāva

IX. Initial voiced aspirates of Sanskrit/Hindi words are devoiced and deaspirated in Dogri. This deaspiration gives low tone to the following vowel. In medial and final position the voiced aspirate does not lose voice but is deaspirated. If it is followed by a stressed vowel, the vowel gets low tone but if it is preceded by a stressed vowel, the vowel gets high tone. Similar changes occur in the case of aspirate **h** also.

Sanskrit/Hindi	English	Dogri
bhara	weight	pāra
svabhava	nature	suba
labha	profit	lāba
hasa	laugh	āsā

Thus Dogri language is closely related to other Indo-Aryan languages. The literature of Dogri has witnessed a remarkable growth during the past fifty years. Sahitya Akademi has recognized Dogri as a modern literary language and awarded prizes to many Dogri writers. Dogri is studied in schools, colleges and the University of Jammu at undergraduate and post-graduate levels. There is a great demand for its inclusion in the eighth schedule so that it gets proper opportunities for further growth and development.

GUJARI LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Dr. R.P. Khatana

The Gujari language is the language of all the Gujars, who constitute a big population group in Jammu and Kashmir State. These Gujars are tall and hardy people. Basically nomadic, with the changed times some of them live on agriculture. The majority of them still rear sheep and goats and buffaloes. The Gujars' physical characteristics, language manners, customs, dress and social organisation have very little common with non-Gujar Kashmiris. They have maintained their cultural identity. In appearance Gujars in Kashmir look very much different from non-Gujar Kashmiris. They have long beards and wear a big turban. In spite of living amidst Kashmiris Gujars have not adopted the former's way of the life and dress.

Spatial Distribution

The Gujar cultural group is found in states of Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Haryana, Delhi and Punjab, where they have settled and occupied large tracts of land. In the Jammu and Kashmir State they have conspicuous geographical concentration all over the State except the Ladakh region. In the Kashmir division the concentration of Gujars is on the mountain slopes and side valleys in

the areas of Kukernag, Kangan, Tral, Doru, Pahalgam, Shopian, Kulgam, Handwara, Karnah, Kupwara and Uri Tehsils.

In Jammu division the Gujars dominate in the border tehsils along the Line of Actual Control i.e. Haveli, Mendhar, Nowshera and Sunder Bani. There are Gujar pockets found in Bhadarwah, Doda, Gool, Kishtwar, Kathua, Udhampur and Arnas areas.

There are three major groups among the Gujars of Jammu and Kashmir based on the type of animal they rear. The sedentary agriculturist group is called **Muqami** Gujars. The second group is called **Bakarwal** Gujars, because they rear **Bakri** (goat) in large numbers. The third group is **Banihara** Gujars, who rear buffaloes and live in forests (**Bans**).

Gujari Language

The language of Gujars has been termed as **Parimu** or **Hindki** by Lawrence. It was, however, categorized as Rajasthani by the State in the census reports conducted before partition. Lawrence¹ remarks: "Their language known as **Parimu** or **Hindki** is wholly different from Kashmiri language". The scholars after investigations have disagreed with it. The conclusion of Drew² about their language being a type of **Pahari** is also not very palatable to the Census of India, 1911³.

Census of India 1941⁴ remarks, "Since after this account of Drew, Gujari has been classified under **Pahari**, but it is doubtful if this is more correct than its previous classification under **Rajasthani**. Those families of this nomadic race, which have permanently settled in various parts of Jammu and some parts of Kashmir and taken to agriculture, anyhow adopted the local language but the wandering classes, who from the largest majority, have absolutely no dealings with the natives of the country, and leading the isolated life that they do, far removed from the villages and in the pastures and woods of the land; they have managed to retain their language which continues to be akin to **Rajasthani** rather

than Pahari". The Census of India 1941 remarks, "Gujari the language of the Gujars is included with Rajasthani. Pahari which is shown separately in the Scheme is closely connected with Gujari and is spoken in much the same areas."

Characteristics of Gujari Language

Grierson was of the opinion that the Gujari spoken by the Gujars of the submontane districts of the Punjab and Kashmir was allied to Rajasthani. He says, "one of the two things is quite certain. Either Gujari is a form of Rajasthani or conversely, Rajasthani is a form of Gujari and resemblance of Gujari to **Mewari** is very striking. But still closer is the resemblance of Gujari to **Mewati** dialect of Rajasthani spoken in Alwar, some distance to the north of Mewar and separated from that state by the territory of Jaipur".

Roots and Affinities

All the scholars agree on one point that the Gujari of the Gujars of Jammu and Kashmir is a form of Rajasthani. How and when the Gujars entered the State of Jammu and Kashmir is lying in obscurity.

The census of India 1941⁵ informs us: "Historians seem to be satisfied that the tribes called "Gurjaras" were established in the area near Mount Abu in Rajasthan, around 6th century A.D. onwards. It is believed that these and other sections of the tribe were the ancestors of those now known as Gujars in this state. The "Gurjaras" were Hindus at the time they are first noticed in India. They had established a Kingdom of their own at the time of Harsha about 640 A.D. It seems that they successfully resisted the Arab invasion from the north early in the eighth century A.D. It is alleged that about 750 A.D. the Chapa dynasty of the Gurjaras which had been in power for about 200 years, was displaced by the Pratiharas who seem to have carried on till about 1000 A.D., when their power was broken by the coming of Mahmud of Ghazni. Nothing much

appears to be known of the Gurjaras in the Punjab until 980 A.D. When Raja Shankervarman of Kashmir is said to have invaded Gujarat, the Gurjara Kingdom was ruled over by one Lakhandev. A region known as Takka, situated in the area now known as the Punjab was ceded by Shankervarman. It is reasonable to presume that Gurjara tribes had extended to the Punjab and it is probable that such places as Gujarat, Gujranwala and Gujar Khan and Gurdaspur, where Gujar families are still found derived their names from this fact. The Gurjara Kingdom ceased to exist by the time of Akbar the Great when their country was annexed. By this time a number of Gujars, as we will now call them, had embraced Islam and from now onwards the connection of the northern sections with their Hindu ancestors becomes less and less. It is the summary of the views given in various works in an attempt to link the Gujars now living in the Jammu and Kashmir State with those believed to have been their ancestors. The migration of a part of the tribe to the territories now known as the Jammu and Kashmir State is attributed to the outbreak of a serious famine in the region inhabited by the tribe, now known as Rajputana, Gujarat and Kathiawar. The exact period has not been fixed but it is known as the **Satahsiya famine**. It is stated that some part of the migrating tribes moved to the Punjab whilst others moved further north to the areas now known as Kaghan, Swat, Hazara, Kashmir and Gilgit. The same source states that the Gujars now living in the Jammu and Kashmir State are parts of two separate migrations, one direct from the Gurjara tribes of Rajputana, Gujarat and Kathiawar, the other, and latter migration, form the Gujar tribes settled in the Punjab.

The scholars trace the historical roots and affinity of the Gujar language from the Gurjara **Apabhramsa** of the Sanskrit grammarians. Scholars are also of the view that Gujar language spoken by the Gujars in the north-western Himalayas has a very close relation with Marwari⁶ (Rajasthani) which is a region around Mount Abu

(Rajasthan) and was known **Gurjara Desa** in the sixth century A.D.

Gujari Language, Status and Identity in Jammu and Kashmir

The status of a language is generally judged by the number of persons who speak the language. The speakers of Gujari language have been enumerated in the various census reports from 1891 onwards as follows:

Table I
Population of Gujars in Jammu and Kashmir
(1891 to 1941)

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Population of Gujars</i>	<i>Percentage of variation (increase (+) decrease (-)</i>
1891	2,15,796	
1901	2,86,109	+ 24.5
1911	3,28,003	+ 12.7
1921	3,62,107	+ 9.4
1931	4,02,781	+ 10.1
1941	3,81,457	- 5.6

Table I explains that since 1891 to 1931 there is a steady increase in their population. Between the decade 1891-1901 the percentage of variation is (+ 24.5), between 1901-1911 (+ 12.7), between 1911-1921 (+ 9.4). The percentage of net variation is +46.42 from 1891 to 1931. According to 1931 census 4,02,781 persons were Gujars, where as according to 1941 census, this population decreased to 3,81,457 persons which is 21,324 less than 1931.

Census of India 1941⁷ remarks about this decrease in 1941, "This decrease cannot be accounted for unless it is due to the fact that in many cases they did not describe themselves correctly. Muslims as a whole show an increase in numbers which compares favourably with the increase of population for the whole State. There is no reason to believe that the

Gujar element of the community was an exception to this tendency. Gujars show a decrease in the district Reasi, Poonch and Chenani in the Jammu Province. The tabulation figures for the Gilgit Agency did not separate the various elements of the population. In 1931, 2,454 Gujars were recorded as living in Gilgit Agency. However, it is not necessary to attempt to account for the variations, to do so would be pure guess work when we have no reliable evidence to explain the decrease".

In 1951 the census was not conducted owing to the partition of India in 1947. The Census of India 1961 was not conducted on caste basis and the population of Gujars which had been reckoned separately by the previous censuses was merged with the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore the estimates of the 1961 strength of the Gujar population are far from accurate.

The trend of Gujar population as shown indifferent census reports in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has consistently shown a downward trend and has come down from 37% in 1931 to 25% in 1941 and further down to 10% in 1971 although it showed some increase during the year 1971 census, but this percentage to total population did not improve and showed a further decline of 2%. According to 1981 report Gujars and Bakarwals constitute about 8% of the State population, i.e., from 10% in 1971, the population of this tribe has further decreased to 8% in 1981. In contrast to the figures provided by the census reports other local sources indicate a different picture of their population. R.R. Khojuria mentions that "about 12 lakh people that constituted about 25% of the State population belonged to Gujars and Bakarwals, covering almost one-third of the State land in 1981".⁸ The Daily *Pratap* dated February 2, 1969 mentioned in its column that the total number of persons from Gujars and Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir was 14 lakhs and this number decreased to 10 lakhs in 1976 as reported by Jyoteshwar Pathik in one of his essays "Jammu and Kashmir Chronicles".⁹

Table: II
Jammu and Kashmir-Identified Socio-Cultural Groups
(Proportion of Population) Census of 1981

S. No.	Socio-cultural Group	% age to total population
1.	Kashmiri Speaking Muslims	45.25
2.	Kashmiri Speaking Hindus	2.06
3.	Bakarwal/Gujar/Pahari (Kashmir Division)	4.46
4.	Shina Speaking Muslims	0.5
5.	Punjabi Speaking (Kashmir Division)	0.60
6.	Kashmiri and Hindi mixed language (Jammu Division)	5.49
7.	Dogri Speaking (Jammu Division)	25.00
8.	Bakarwal/Gujar/Pahari (Jammu Division)	13.00
9.	Punjabi Speaking including Lahnda (Jammu Division)	3.00
10.	Balti Speaking (Ladakh Division)	1.00
11.	Ladakhi and Botia Speaking (Ladakh Division)	1.50

The analysis of various censuses conducted in the State of Jammu and Kashmir about the Gujari speakers shows that they are consistently decreasing, whereas some scholars indicate a steep increase in their population. This is a moot point of discussion as to why the population of Gujari speakers has shown a considerable decrease in the census reports, despite the fact that since long, this community has not remained open to the syndromes of modernization, and the crises of development around them specially in the field of family planning. Nor has the community fallen a victim to any natural calamity like epidemic, flood, famine or any demographic transformation. It becomes imperative for the State Government as well as for the Government of India to look seriously into the reasons of the tremendous decrease in population of this community.

As the censuses conducted in the past were based on linguistic identity, it created a controversy among the writers,

historians and even among Gujars about their real population. They demanded that a special survey or census of the Gujar population be conducted separately for Gujars and their population be estimated on the tribal identity and not on linguistic identity. For linguistic survey does not reveal the actual facts and cannot determine the actual population of Gujars in the State, as there were other people who speak **Parimu** dialect in the state. The Gujar Bakarwal community of the State was never satisfied with the methods of survey and censuses conducted by the State Government from time to time. The information available in such reports was not accepted by the Gujars. The Gujars alleged that the persons who enumerated them played with the figures as they were having little knowledge about the Gujar Community; obviously the enumerators counted them for the other linguistic group.

This prompted the Gujar-Bakarwal leadership to press upon the Government to change this attitude of discrimination and many representations were made to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir for conducting a separate survey of this community, so that actual figures of Gujar speakers is made known to the community in the State. As such a special census was conducted in the year 1986-87 to find out the actual number of Gujar speakers in the State.¹⁰

Table III
Jammu and Kashmir
Population of Gujars and Bakarwals (1987)

<i>Region</i>	<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of the District</i>	<i>Gujars</i>	<i>Bakarwals</i>
A. Jammu	1.	Jammu	30,910	150
	2.	Kathua	10,070	740
	3.	Udhampur	60,230	4,900
	4.	Doda	53,850	11,510
	5.	Poonch	1,01,770	2,970
	6.	Rajouri	96,930	8,020
B. Kashmir	1.	Srinagar	30,440	290
	2.	Budgam	9,870	40
	3.	Anatnag	46,290	3,350
	4.	Pulwama	17,800	310
	5.	Baramulla	42,770	2,290
	6.	Kupwara	46,200	330
C. Ladakh	1.	Leh	20	Nil
	2.	Kargil	Nil	Nil
Total			5,47,150	34,900

Table III reveals that prior to 1986-87 (Special census) census reports were not accurate. The total population of Gujars in the State according to this census was 5,47,150 and that of Bakarwals as 34,900. Evidently, the total population of Gujars and Bakarwals in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been 5,82,050 and this was about 9% of the total population.

As the Gujars and Bakarwals are scattered all over the State on the slopes of the mountains, to them it seems that the enumerators have cooked up the figures, and the Gujar Bakarwal community who speak Gujar do not believe the figures projected by the Special survey of 1986-87. As such

they have no faith in this special census also.

These conflicting figures of various census reports and other sources reflect the following facts:-

- i. Since 1931 to 1941 census, the decreasing trend in this decade about Gujar speaking population can be attributed to the fact "that in many cases they did not describe themselves correctly"¹¹. The policies of **begar** (forced labour) and repression by the government of the time on Gujars forced them to hide their caste.
- ii. Since 1941 to 1961 census, a majority of the Muslim Gujar population from Jammu and Kashmir districts either migrated to Pakistan or the Tehsils of Mirpur, Kotli, Sudhnuti, Bagh and Muzzafarabad under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. These areas were dominated by Gujars. There was, thus, a considerable loss of Gujar population to the State at the time of partition in 1947.
- iii. From 1961 to 1981 censuses, the census was not conducted on caste basis but on linguistic basis. The electoral politics in the State of Jammu and Kashmir played its role. The Gujars have been split into various linguistic groups-Hindi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Gujar, Bakarwali, Pahari, Parimu, Urdu. And in some areas which were dominated by Kashmiri and Dogri speakers, the bilingual Gujars living in these areas were enumerated into these linguistic groups. This resulted into tremendous decrease in their population in the various census reports.

Whatever the reasons behind the conflicting views of the census reports the statistics regarding the figures of Gujar speakers reveal that the status of this language in the state is after Kashmiri and Dogri and it is the third largest linguistic/cultural group in the State.

CONCLUSIONS

- i. The Gujar language which is the language of the

Gujars and Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir is a form of Marwari (Rajasthani), and has its roots in Sanskrit. These Gujars carried the cultural traits from an area around Mt. Abu (Rajasthan) which was known as **Gurjara Desa** in the sixth century A.D. to the sub Himalayan ranges in the course of their migrations in historical times. These Gujars had close affinities with the Gujars (Hindu) of the other areas of India.

- ii. Various census reports conducted in the State of Jammu and Kashmir about the Gujari speakers have shown that they are consistently decreasing, whereas some research scholars indicate a steep increase in their population. The question arises; why has the number of Gujari speakers shown a considerable decrease in census reports? The community has certainly, not fallen victim to any natural calamity like epidemic, flood, famine or any demographic transformation. Nor have the family planning methods been adopted by them. The State Government as well as the Government of India need to look seriously into the reasons of tremendous decrease of their population.
- iii. The information available in census reports is not believed by Gujar-Bakarwals. This has created a feeling of mistrust among them towards the attitude of the Government.
- iv. The Gujari language speakers in various census reports have been split into various linguistic groups i.e. Hindi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Pahari, Gujari, Bakarwali, Parimu and Urdu.
- v. As to the status of Gujari language in Jammu and Kashmir, the Gujari speakers constitute the single largest group of its persons in the state after Kashmiri and Dogri speakers.

APPENDIX I
SPECIMEN OF GUJARI (JAMMU AND KASHMIR)
AND MARWARI (RAJASTHANI)

S.No.	Gujari (Jammu and Kashmir)	Marwari (Rajasthani)	English
1.	Ek	Ēk	One
2.	Do	Dō	Two
3.	Tra	Tin	Three
4.	Chār	Chyār	Four
5.	Pāñj	Pāñch	Five
6.	Chha	Chhāi	Six
7.	Satt	Sāt	Seven
8.	Atth	Āth	Eight
9.	Nau	Nau	Nine
10.	Das	Das	Ten
11.	Bi	Bis	Twenty
12.	Pānjā	Pāchās	Fifty
13.	So	Sau	Hundred
14.	Mērō	Mērō	of me
15.	Mero	Mero	Mine
16.	Ham	Ham	We
17.	Mahārō	Mharo	of us
18.	Mahāro	Mharo	Our
19.	Tū	Tū	Thou
20.	Terō	Tērō	of thee
21.	Tero	Tero	Thine
22.	Tam	Tam	You
23.	Thārō	Thāro	of you
24.	Thāro	Tharō	Your

25.	Wū	Wo	He
26.	Ve	Wē	They
27.	Ungō	Un-kō	of them
28.	Ungo	Un-ko	Their
29.	Hatth	Hāt	Hand
30.	Pair	Pāg	Foot
31.	Nakk	Nak	Nose
32.	Akkh	Akhya	Eye
33.	Mūh	Mōh	Mouth
34.	Dand	Dāt	Tooth
35.	Kann	Kān	Ear
36.	Bāl	Bāl	Hair
37.	Sir	Sir	Head
38.	Jib	Jīb	Tongue
39.	Pēt	Pēt	Belly
40.	Lohō	Loh	Iron
41.	Sōnō	Sōnū	Gold
42.	Abā (one's own father)	Bāp	Father
	Bāp (another's father)		
43.	Bhāi	Bhāī	Brother
44.	Bahain	Bahan	Sister
45.	Admi	Admi	Man
46.	Tārā	Tarō	Star
47.	Agg	Aḡ	Fire
48.	Pāni	Pāni	Water
49.	Ghar	Ghār	House
50.	Kōrō	Ghōro	House
51.	Billi	Bilai	Cat

52.	Kuto	Kutto	Dog
53.	Kukur	Kukaro	Cock
54.	Batak	Batak	Duck
55.	Ūt	Ūth	Camel
56.	Ja	Ja	Go
57.	Khā	Kha	Eat
58.	Bais	Bais	Sit
59.	Aū	Aw	Come
60.	Mār	Mar	Beat
61.	Dē	Dē	Give
62.	Dōr	Daur	Run
63.	Upār	Ūpar	Up
64.	Nērē	Nīrō	Near
65.	Dūr	Dūr	Far
66.	Agē	Agai	Before
67.	Pichhe	Pichhai	Behind
68.	Kōn	Kaun	Who
69.	Kē	Kē	What
70.	Hā	Hā	Yes
71.	Bāp	Bāp	A father
72.	Bāpko	Bāp kō	of a father
73.	Bāp-na	Bāp-Nai	to a father
74.	Dō bāp	Do bāp	Two fathers
75.	Bāp	Bap	Fathers
76.	Bāpā-ko	Bāpā-ko	of father
77.	Kōrō	Ghōrō	A horse
78.	Kori	Ghōri	A mare
79.	Bakro	Bakaro	A he goat
80.	Bakri	Bakari	A female goat
81.	Wū hai	Wōai	He is
82.	Ham hā	Ham hā	We are
83.	Tam hō	Tam hō	You are

84.	Tū thō	Tū thō	Thou was
85.	Wū thō	Wō thō	He was
86.	Ham thā	Ham thā	We were
87.	Tam thā	Tam thā	You were
88.	Hunō	Honū	To be
89.	Hōtō	Hoto	Being
90.	Mār	Mār	Beat
91.	Jā	Jā	Go
92.	Jāto	Jato	Going
93.	Tērō nā Ke hai?	Tērō Kē naṽ hai?	What is your name
94.	It ũ Kashmir, Kitniek Dūr hai?	Kashmir it-tai ^ॐ Kitani-k dur hai	How far is it from here to Kashmir?
95.	Wū us rukkh ke hēt Koṛā par baitho vi hai	Wo wai raukh Kai nichai ghora par bithyō hai	He is sitting on a horse under that tree
96.	Us ko bhai uski bahan thū Lamboo hai	Wói ko bhai wai ki bahan tai Lambo hai	His brother is taller
97.	Yū rupaya us-nā dē	Yo rapaiyo wai nai dyo	Give this rupee to him
98.	Mēre aggē aggē chal	Meraí agai chāl	Walk before me
99.	Tē wu Kis thū mul lio-vi hai?	Tam wo kit tai mol Liyo?	From whom did you buy that
100.	Grā kā hatiāla thū	Gāw kā ēk hāt wālā tāi	From a shopkeeper of a village

APPENDIX II

Some peculiarities of Gujarati Phonetics

The Gujarati language spoken in Jammu and Kashmir has, its own phonetic characteristics such as:

/K/= is articulated further forward in the mouth when it is followed by a front vowel as in keel.

/K/ i i.e., ∂e

= /Ka:Sim/ कासिम

/K/ is articulated further back in the mouth (in the post-velar region of the roof of the mouth) when it is followed by a back vowel as in **Call** and **Cool** /K/a:

[K] -articulated further back in the mouth.

K|m कलम

K|m कलम

[K] -articulated further back in mouth becomes the [K] articulated further forward in the mouth.

/gudzra:ti/

/ma:rva:ri/

/pehlb/

/ra:dzðsoa:n/

/ðu:dzo?

Note:- In place of /ðn/ -we should use the diacritic (~) for

/t|:dzðn/

nasalisation e.g.

[t'] -This is Hindi consonant (त) /bn/ should be

(In English we use /t/ɾ) written as (t̃)

(t') unaspirated voiceless dental unreleased stop

(Phonetic Description)

(In pronouncing this and other dental consonant phonemes there is a close contact of the tip of the tongue with the upper portion of upper teeth and teeth ridge)

/tfduen/

Note (bn) (ओं) in Hindi It is a nasalised sound which is not found in English.

/pdndzmðn/

/ma:rva:ri/

/pa:ntfmðn/

/c|mjðn/ in English there is C' (छ) sound.

(C_ or /Ch/ Hindi (छ) is unaspirated voiceless palatal unreleased stop.

/St'məɳ/ /Sa:t]məɳ/

/əT'məɳ/

(T') or /T/ doesn't exist in English. It is found in Hindi as (ठ) (tth)

(T') in pronouncing this, the forefront part of the blade of the tongue touches the point just behind the teeth ridge.

/nvmon/

Note:

/əsmoɳ/

əɳ = ॐ (nasalised sound)

/krnoɳ/

/krt'a:/

/ɳ/ ॢ

sound doesn't exist in English in English we found /d/ phonetic Description:- Unaspirated, lightly voiced post-alveolar unreleased stop.

/mrnoɳ/

/t'mkh'a:n/ (Kh') ख is a Hindi consonant. It doesn't exist in English

me:ɳs:

/e:/ ए is a Hindi vowel. In English we find /e:/ this is some longer than /e:/

For Change in number

/kohoːo:/ In English we use /b/ ओ and in Hindi, we use [o:]. ओं

There is no sound (ओ) in English. Here [o:]

/bətkro:/ is preferable. बकरो

/ldo' ko:/ लड़को

Gender

/Ko:hd'a/ (Kohd' I:) Here /h/ is unreleased

/bkra:/ /bkri:/

1. hū: ədz Shri nɑgrə əzɑ:ū go:

bilabial unreleased stop

(bh'u:l) Changed into (pu;h l) (Here 'h' is unreleased)

Zija:rt' जियारत

Zija:r जियारथ

tʃa :ro: चारो

t a:ra:h (Here /h/ is released. चारोहै)

Po:na:v पोशनो

Pv sun पो सुन

ðs t' a:no: असतानो

ð st'a:n अस्तान

dza: जा

Za:ja: जाया

ho हथ

ðo अथ

Kh'u l o: खुल्लो

Kh'ul'a: खुल्ला

ga:hek गाहक

gra:kh' ग्राख

(ðh') lightly aspirated voice dental unreleased stop.

(ðh'a:go:) धगो

dh'a:go: dh'a:ga" धगा

(mɬ'.Qo:) मत्थो

ma:t'a: माथा

(t') (ɕ) मत्थो

Unaspirated voiceless dental
relatively long unreleased stop.

/ | K /

/ | K / / K mð t /

/Ko:hb'o:/

/Ko:hb'b:/ /gh'o:ba:/

(gh') Lightly aspirated voiced released velar stop.

Gujari

Urdu

/U:T'No:/ उठारगो

/U:T' na:/ उठाना

Kh' a:No: खारगो

Kh'a:na: खाना

Pi:No: पीणो

Pi:na: पीना

So:vna: सोवणा

So:na: सोना

a:No आणो

a:na: आना

dza:No: जाणो

dza:na जाना

ga:No: गाणो

ga:na: गाना

(Urdu):- dh'o:bi Ka: Kutta: na gha r Ka:na: gh a:t Ka:-

(Gujari):- o:bi Ko: Kuto: n g'r Ko: n g'a:t Ko:-

REFERENCES

1. Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar, Kesar Publishers (Reprinted-1967), p. 316
2. Drew F., *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*. 1875, p. 110.
3. *Census of India 1911*, Vol. XX, Kashmir, I, Report.
4. *Census of India 1941*, Vol. XXI, Jammu and Kashmir Part I and II Essays and Tables. P. 302.
5. *Census of India, 1941, Jammu and Kashmir* pp. 9-11
6. Sarwari Kasana, "*Gujari-Kashmir Te Rajasthan Ki Ekta*," Shirazo, J&K Academy of Art, culture and Languages, Srinagar, Vol. 2, 1 June 1979. pp 13-19
7. *Census of India, 1941*. pp. 9-10
8. Khajuria, R.R., *Gujars of Jammu and Kashmir*, (In Urdu) Srinagar, Gulshan Publications, 1981, p. 138.
9. *Jammu and Kashmir Chronicle 1976*, Srinagar. Quoted by Dr. R.R. Khujoria in his book, *Gujars of Jammu and Kashmir*, op cit. p. 149.
10. See Census Department of Jammu and Kashmir, Special Census report 1986-87 on Gujars and Bakarwals.
11. *Census 1941 op cit* pp. 9-10.

SANSKRITIC IMPACT ON THE SPEECH OF LADAKHI GARKHUNS

Malvika Bandyopadhyaya

Sanskrita as the name suggests, means "put together, constructed", "well formed", "perfected" (sam + s - krta or samskrta). (The formation of **samskr** in place of **samkr** is on the analogy of **pariskara** and **upaskara**). Presumably "well formed" suggests two factors:

- (i) Some speech was existent before that was well formed (**samskrta**). Attention may be invited to some sutras from the **Astaddhyai** of Panini:

Mayura vamsakayasca (2.1.72)

mundascasau kambajas'ceti-kambaja-munda.

Similarly, may **yavanamunda** be referred to. Panini also took care of peculiar forms which had been in usage. For example: **Kumarah sramanadibhih** is compounded as **Kumarasra-mana** (2.1.70).

- (ii) The language after being refined becomes well-formed. For instance, Panini (in 4.3.127-28) refers to the formation of the **Sakala** in forming alternative words in adjective. For instance:

samgha - 'nka - laksanesva -

añ - yañ, iñam an. (4.3.127)

Panini in his **Astaddhyai** mentions some of his predecessors like Yaska, Sakatayana and Varsyayani, who

might have been predecessors in endeavouring the systematization of the language spoken by the locals in evidence. Probably Panini appeared 400 years before the Christian era. He belonged to Kashmir, when it was the gateway from Central Asia to India. Panini ventured to compose his Sutra a Samskrta bhasa in eight chapters to establish Arianization in the area to which he belonged. He had a wide vision and close association with the then Aryavarta. In this respect some studies have already been made by the scholars of India and abroad. An attempt prevails in Western linguistics to hunt the intellectual ancestor of Panini, what is known as the ancestor hunt. In this regard Adam Makkai and William M. Christie have discussed in detail in their article "whose Intellectual Ancestor was Panini - Really?" (See S.K. Chatterjee Commemoration volume, Ed. by Bhakti P. Mallik. The University of Burdwan, 1981 pp. 134-144).

Regarding the advent of the Aryans it is linguistically accepted that they came through Iran. It is needless to enter into the discussion about the homeland of Aryans in the context of the present study of the Garkhuns. Garkhuns reside in the western-most part of Ladakh in Kashmir on the bank of the river Indus at an altitude of about six thousand feet. To reach the area one should cross stiff, barren hill tracks towards the North Western Ladwags.

The word Garkhun appears to be Tibetan word **dgar khun**. Here **dgar** suggests separated out of the word **dgar ba**. Here **dagar ba** means to separate, confine, fold up (Jaske Dic. p. 83) in respect of men, cattle, goods. The final part of the word **khun** is probably built up **'khun**, which means a note of groaning, to groan like animals. They themselves, however, interpret as **agar khun**, which suggests a resident of tent, like Brog pa nomads. **Agar** means camp and **khung** means hollow cavity. Unfortunately Garkhuns of the above mentioned area fail to recollect their origin now. As regards their physique and features of the body of men and women, a Garkhun does not belong to Mongoloid group.

Mongoloids have the following distinction in physical features:-

Skin	Yellow, Brown
Eyes and hair	Dark brown, black (epicanthitic fold)
Hair	Straight
Body hair	Slight
Prognathism	Slight
(Mouth and Jaw)	
Paws	Small
Head	Upright

The Garkhuns, however, have different physical structure with bright skin, tipped nose, black hair, white eyes and so on. Moreover in food habits and other material needs, the Garkhuns maintain their special characteristics. It is a wonder that a pocket of small non-Mongoloid group living among the Mongoloids may be found in the remote area. It is striking to note that their speech does not belong to the Bhotia group of languages as spoken by the Mongoloids in Ladakh and adjacent areas.

Before we discuss the language traits of the Garkhuns, some peculiarities of Ladakhi speech may not be irrelevant. In Ladakh the language is called Bodhi, sometimes Bhoti. Bodhi is a corrupt form of Tibetan Compound **Bod-yi** in which the Buddhist literature is preserved. Bhoti refers to the language by the Bhot people. In general Bodhi or Bhoti is monosyllabic, but it betrays a tendency towards bisyllabic or polysyllabic too. It is to be noted that the Bodhi speech does not always observe sound sintrification as is found in the central Tibetan speech which is regarded as the standard Tibetan speech. As a result, the preceding letter is prefixed and conjoined letters retain their sound in pronunciation. For example - Skardu, Jangskar, Spituk, Kharkhel (Kargil) may be cited. In spite of the spread of the Arabic language the Bodhi influence prevails.

In contrast to that, the Garkhun speech is sometimes inflectional and polysyllabic like Sanskrit. A comparative chart of counting of numbers as found in the Garkhun and Bhoti speeches is shown below:

Numerical order

Garkhun speech	Bhoti of Ladakh	Central Tibetan with sound simplification
1. ek/ik	(g) cik	cig
2. du	(g) nis	nyi
3. tra	(g) sum	sum
4. chor	zhi (sbyi)	hsi
5. pus	nga/gha/sha	nga
6. sra	druk/(cut) ruk	du (k)
7. sat	(r) dung/dun	dun
8. ast	(r) gyat/gat	g(y) a
9. nu	rgu/gu	gu
10. das	beu/rscu	cu

The above comparison clearly shows that the Garkhunpas follow the counting in Sanskrit though the Ladakhis recount the numerals in Tibetan. The pronunciation of the later speech varies from that of the standard Tibetan.

While counting the twelve months, the Garkhunpas follow the Ladakhi expression as:

dawa Langpo	1st month
nyispa	2nd month
sumpa	3rd month
zipa	4th month
hugapa	5th month
tukpa	6th month
dunpa	7th month
trgyapa	8th month
rdgupa	9th month
chapa	10th month
chuchik	11th month
chunyispa	12th month

It is evident from the instances detailed in the appendix, which were collected during field work in the area, that Sanskritic impact is still at work in the spoken language among the Garkhun Community in the Western Himalayas.

That the community did not spread in other regions of India, may be explained by the following conjectures:

1. Garkhunpa, as the name implies, is the settler in the remote area, which is almost inaccessible even today. Pony is the means of communication in those stiff areas.
2. The speech used by them obviously remains concerned in a small area. Although they are accustomed to communicate in Bodhi (the general spoken language of Leh area) for their general communication in market, they do not preserve **Kanjur** or **Tanjur** as their sacred books in spite of their religious nomenclature being Buddhist.
3. They are not Mongoloid. Obviously they express their rigidity in preservation of blood purity or racial solidarity. No inter-marriage with the Mongoloids generally occurs. The kins and descents are limited within themselves.
4. Economically they are pastoral with small attempts to cultivate barley and other cereal crops for their own use. They exchange mostly animal hides and animal products. The recent endeavours by the government to introduce horticulture has not been successful due to harsh climatic condition.

In India Sanskrit is still a live language. Garkhuns of Ladakh and the Lohars of Punjab speak a potois of Sanskrit, obviously non-Paninian, sometimes broken. In the case of Garkhuns some broken forms of Sanskrit are still in vogue. In the cultural history of Western Himalayas the spoken language of the Garkhuns is the living specimen of the residue of Old-Indo Aryan speech. In spite of the upheavals of social and political conditions of the Western Himalayas, the Garkhuns have preserved their identity distinct from the Mongoloids by secluding themselves within their kins and descendants. The inhabitants of that remote corner of India still retain the legacy of the Sanskrit speaking Aryans.

APPENDIX

Dialogue A

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. kim naman cheda | - May I know your name please? |
| 2. anda namam Bhagatram | - My name is Bhagatrama. |
| 3. kim ham demmanoc | - Where do you come from? |
| 4. ga colin ca baka | - I am a Bhutanese. |
| 5. ki ca lun kiti an | - Do you like tea or beer? |
| 6. ha ga mai anka ho la se | - I have already taken tea? |
| 7. ki tha kaman sa baha vadaen | - What is your engagement? |
| 8. ga dakavanom | - I go to the post office. |
| 9. to to khasa lisa madu | - Thank you sir. |
| 10. Kila kimo te ate bhaya du | - How many brothers have you at home? |
| 11. ma anda ate bhya maica | - None, I have no brother. |
| 12. kina loca (a) | - Have you any sister? |
| 13. han igakta gato rinda tom | - Yes, I have only younger sister. |
| 14. kim bapu tha kaman lanca | - What is your father? |
| 15. anda bapu jamidari kaman lanca | - He is an agriculturist (Cultivator). |
| 16. kina ama cho lano nica | - What does your mother do? |

Dialogue B

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. kin kimn je ladga toca | - Have you cattle at home? |
| 2. anda kimo nis dama | - Yes, we have a pair of Oxen, three cows, five pigs and twenty five sheep. |
| 3. kin rimo halam lanca | - Can you plough a field? |
| 4. ma, anda vapu halan lanca | - No, my father can. |
| 5. ki kina vapu pan hala madata radaca toi | - How do you help your father? |
| 6. ga vian mecatoka, chao lavaja toka | - I sow seeds, plant paddy, and reap harvest. |
| 7. no lin sese phasala hala duye | - Don't you look after cattle? |
| 8. khas dam ma duye | - No, my mother does. |
| 9. Lekin vajato mamta dam duve- | - What does your sister do? |
| 10. kin danda to ca | - She cuts grass for her pet. |
| 11. Caraio khuden bhimn vyaca | - Did you yield oranges last year? |
| 12. kin kim rago pansidtova | - Yes, we did. |
| 13. anda kim bhino para-sidanto, chapad-dino tan | - Why? |
| 14. khas li ninonus ma baca | - Have you a stable? |
| 15. ki pomo hasal punanca | - Do you ride a pony? |
| 16. chumagada yumu piya | - Certainly, for upward journey a pony is essential. |

THE BALTI LANGUAGE

Syed Muhammad Abbas Kazmi

Introduction

Baltistan, actually a complex of beautiful valleys, is situated amid the famous ranges of Himalaya and Karakoram, straddling the river Indus, between Ladakh and Gilgit. Some of the highest peaks of the world - Chogo¹-ri (K-2), Mashabrum² (K-1) and Gashabrum³ group of peaks besides beautiful glaciers like Sia-chen⁴, Baltoro⁵, Biafo⁶ and Chogo-lungma⁷ are situated in this region. The dimensions of Baltistan have been fluctuating over the course of history. It is currently smaller than ever before, with an area of 17,000 square kms. and an estimated population of 4,00,000. Baltistan consists of six major valleys like Skardo, Rongdo, Shigar, Khaplo, Kharmang and Gultari. Baltistan presents a beautiful contrast of high peaks, deep gorges, straddling glaciers, vast deserts, sandy plains, turquoise blue lakes, colourful panorama, lush green oases and villages.

Writers and historians of different nations have given different names to this region. The first historical reference appearing in Ptolemy's - BYALTAE- dates back to the 2nd century BC. The Chinese have named it Palolo, Palilo and Palor. Arabian historians such as Al-Beruni render it Balor- the Arabic version of the Chinese name, which was later

Persianised as Baloristan. As the area is geographically located on the Tibetan plateau and for centuries remained a part of the Tibetan Empire, the majority of population being ethnically and linguistically of Tibetan origin, Indian historians have thus named it Little Tibet. The people themselves refer to their homeland as Balti-yul (Land of Baltis) which suggests a link with Ptolemy's BYALTAE. Baltistan is the Persian rendering of Balti-yul.

Historical Perspective

The first reference about the area (Baltistan) occurs in the Epic of King Gesar⁸ (Kesar), but in a fragmentary shape. Reliable historical records date from the last days of Palolashahi⁹ rulers of Baltistan (Palolo) who, according to some rock-inscriptions¹⁰, ruled the area of Ladakh and Gilgit too from the 5th century to 727 AD. In 727 AD the Tibetan king Khri-Lde-gtsug-bRtan¹¹ invaded Baltistan and in 737 AD the Tibetans conquered Brushal¹² (modern Gilgit) annexing these to their empire. These areas remained provinces of the Tibetan empire till the death of the last king of Tibet Glang-Darma¹³ around 880/900 AD, when the foremost western provinces, Baltistan and Brushal became independent. Since then till the 12th century AD, Baltistan remained under several petty chiefs under the overlordship of the Shagari¹⁴-tribe of Skardo. In 12/13th century AD, a young fugitive¹⁵ namely Ibrahim Shah, migrated to Baltistan from Iran via Kashmir, managed to obtain power in Skardo and founded the Maqpon¹⁶ Dynasty which subsequently ruled the area for twenty-four succeeding generations. During the reign of ninth Maqpon ruler namely Ghota-Cho-Senge, one Saint Syed Ali Hamadani¹⁷ introduced Islam to the region. In 1531 AD Sultan Saeed Khan, the ruler of Kashgar invaded Ladakh and Baltistan. Ali Sher Khan Anchan¹⁸ the most powerful king, fifteenth in the kings of the Maqpon Dynasty, conquered Ladakh and Western Tibet up to Purang in the east and Gilgit and Chitral in the west during his reign (1590-1625 AD).

Similarly his grandson Shah Murad conquered all these areas for the second time between 1655-1680 AD. For about two hundred years all these areas remained tributaries to the Maqpon kings of Baltistan. A comparatively new, more graceful culture and tradition of fine-arts flourished during this era. The Maqpon kings were great patrons and admirers of the new culture and society. In 1779 AD the Afghans of Kashmir¹⁹ invaded Skardo but could not sustain their control any longer. In 1840 AD the Dogras²⁰ of Jammu conquered Baltistan and annexed it to their State, but in 1947-48 AD the area was annexed to Pakistan. However, Pakistan has maintained its status as the disputed area of Kashmir.

Language and Its Origin

The population of Baltistan is a heterogeneous mixture of ethnic²¹ groups. Tibetans form the principal ethnic group in the area accounting for 60 per cent of the population.

The language spoken by the entire population of Baltistan is called -BALTI- which is an archaic dialect of Tibetan language. At present Balti has been heavily influenced by Burushaski, Turkish and Urdu and affected by Muslim literature in Persian. With the result it has deviated from the original Tibetan language.

The language spoken in Baltistan, generally known as -BALTI is originally a Tibetan dialect. According to Professor Jampal Gyathso, a Chinese Scholar and expert in Epic of king Gesar and a Khampa (Tibetan) by origin, the present Balti has all the linguistic characteristics and roots from Tibetan language. According to his initial survey Balti resembles more the Kham dialect than other Tibetan dialects of U and Thsang and Amdo etc. He further suggests that either the first Tibetan settlers of Baltistan could be the Khambas or at least majority of the settlers were Khambas. The people of Baltistan, dubbed as -mini Tibet-, are related to the Tibetans and their language is a branch of the Tibetan language and retains many features of archaic Tibetan

pronunciation. Reverend H.A. JASCKE too has defined Balti as one of the western most-Tibetan dialect. In his **Tibetan-English Dictionary** (First Indian Reprint Delhi 1975-1980) he defines it as "Bal (Balti), the most westerly of the districts in which the Tibetan language is spoken". Many other scholars also are of the view that Balti is a Tibetan dialect and not a separate language from the Tibetan.

Script

Like other Tibetan dialects, Balti had no script of its own till the Tibetans managed to create a script for their language and simultaneously introduced the same by the Tibetan Lamas and other learned people. In 727 AD when King Khri Lde-gTsong-Brtan conquered Baltistan and annexed it to his State, the Tibetan script was formally introduced as official script through their offices, religious books and rock-inscriptions. The famous (Mandala) carving and the Tibetan inscription on a rock in village Manthal near Skardo town, which dates back to early 8th century AD is one of the best examples of these efforts. Till that time there was no difference between the Tibetan dialects of Lhasa or central Tibet and Baltistan; therefore, the Baltis faced no problem in reciprocal communication and usage. It is worth mentioning here that before the invasion of Tibetans, in 727 AD, the official language of Palolashahis and the clergy too was "Brahmi", which was brought into the area after the 4th legendary Buddhist Conference in Jalandhar. We still find many rock-inscriptions (5th & 6th centuries) in the Brahmi script. However, the Tibetans spread their script with all their zest and zeal. This (Tibetan) script remained in use for the Balti till the 16th century AD when a strong opposition routed it away from the area and instead, the Mullahs persuaded the Balti masses to use the Persian script for Balti, but they never endeavoured to form fully corresponding Persian letters for Balti. Moreover, when the Maqpon Dynasty rose to its climax in the 16th century AD and they developed a strong political and cultural

relationship with the Moghuls of India²³, they used Persian instead of Balti language for their offices and subsequently the Balti language including its script lost the strongest patron. The Dogras of Jammu conquered Baltistan in 1840 AD and annexed it to their State. Since Pakistan took it over in 1948 AD, Urdu has flooded over all the local dialects/languages including Balti. In the modern times Balti has no names/vocabulary for dozens of newly invented and introduced things, therefore, Urdu and English names/words are being used in Balti.

Areas

The present Balti language or Balti form of Tibetan language is spoken in the whole of Baltistan and it is said that Purki-dialect of Purig and Suru-Kartse valleys come in to the Balti group linguistically. However, at the moment nearly 0.04 million people living in Baltistan and about 0.01 million Baltis who live in different cities of Pakistan and working abroad speak Balti.

Evolution

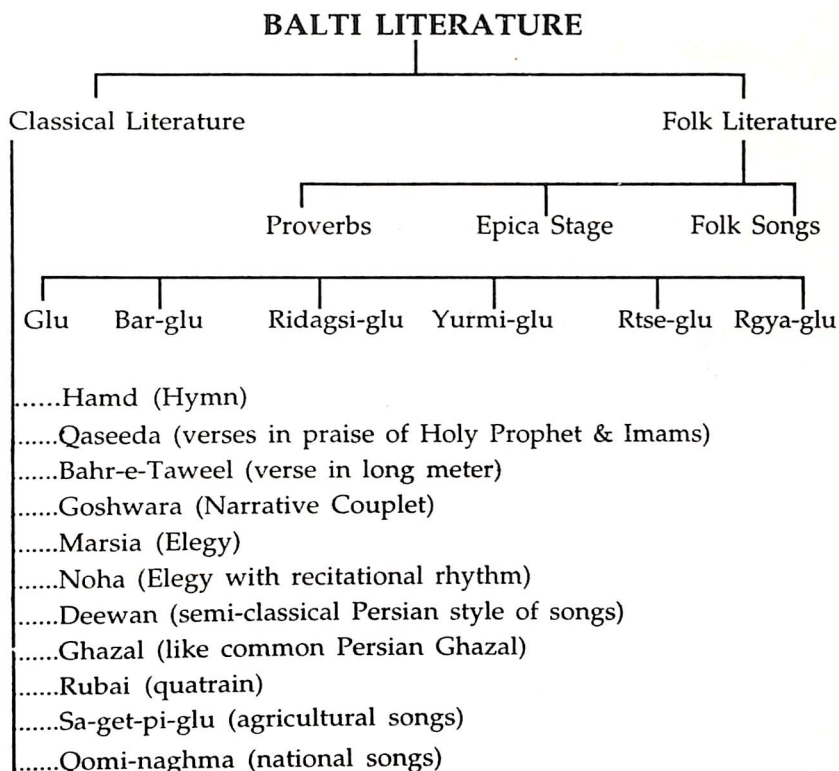
The Balti language has always been at a disadvantage. As mentioned earlier it had to change the script from the original to an artificial one (Persian) which never corresponded with the letters and requirements of the Balti with the result that it lost its standard and Tibetan originality. Its folk-literature is not yet available in written-shape; but continues to be orally transmitted. On the contrary the Balti has been quite promising in the sense of literature in category, aptitude and profundity. It is worth mention here that, despite all handicaps the Balti language has retained many honorific words like all the Tibetan dialects and many other languages. Below are a few examples:

Ordinary Balti	Honorific	Ladakhi	Meaning
Ata	Baba	Aba	Father
Ano/Amo	Zizi	Ama	Mother
Kaka	Kacho	Acho	Brother (elder)
Dustring	Zung	Nama	Wife
Momo	Jangmocho	Ajang	Maternal uncle
Nene	Nenecho	Ane	Aunt
Bu	Bucho	Tugu	Son
Fru	Nono		Boy
Apo	Apocho	Meme	Grand father
Api	Apicho	Abi	Grand mother
Ashe	Ashcho	Singmo	Sister (elder)
Zo	bJes	Zo	Eat.
Thung	bJes	Thung	Drink.
Ong	Shokhs	Yong	Come
Zer	Kasal-byung	Zer	Speak/Say
Ngid tong	gZim tong	Ngid tong	Sleep (go to)
Lagpa	Phyaq-laq/g	Lagpa	Hand/Arm.
Khyang	Yang/Yari- phyaqpo	Khyorang	You.

Literature

Though Balti has remained under adverse conditions, even then it has proved to be a very fertile language capable of creating several categories/kinds of folk and classical literature. We do not find any prose except Proverbs (in hundreds) and some Epics and Sagas (of King Kesar/Gesar, Rgyalucho-Lo-bZang and Rgyalu-Srasbu and some others), all in oral tradition. All other literature is in verse. The Balti literature has adopted numerous Persian styles of verse and vocables also which have amplified the beauty and melody of its poetry.

The Balti Literature may be categorised as under :



A Brief Introduction to Balti Verse

1. **Rgya-glu:** It can be categorised as a classical one in the folk-verses for its meaning or deepness. It contains romantic songs, elegies, advice, complaints and historical events etc.
2. **Rtse-glu:** It a light type of poetry sung while dancing. In these songs different topics and events of life, families and their social or cultural conditions/status and jokes etc. are narrated/explained.
3. **Yurmi-glu:** It is the song which is sung by the women-folk while working or weeding in the fields. In such songs women recollect their child-hood, love

and longing for her parents, pleasant or unpleasant experience or feelings about her husband or other relatives.

4. **Ridagsi-glu:** These are the songs composed in praise of mountain-goats (of all sort). Some songs admire the beauty of wild-life, some depict motherhood in these animals for their kids and in some the poets lament the extinction of goats and sheep.
5. **Bar-glu:** It can be described as the medieval stage between the **Rgya-glu** and the modern poetry (**glu**) and it is also called Deewan. This type of poetry also covers romantic and other general events.
6. **Glu:** It can be described as the **mGul-glu** as it has only romantic feelings and flavour.
7. **Hamd:** It is the form of verses in praise of God.
8. **Qaseeda:** These are verses in praise of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the (12) Imams, their family members (peace be upon them) according to Shiait faith of Islam.
9. **Marsia:** Versed elegy commemorating the great martyrdom of Holy Imam Hussain (the grandson of Muhammad (PBUH), the 3rd Imam) in Karbala and other Imams etc.
10. **Noha:** These are versed elegies sung with rhythm while the (Shiaite) mourners beat their chests. This category is also peculiarly attributed to the martyrs of Karbala and other family members of Holy Prophet (PBUH).
11. **Bahr-e-Taweel:** These verses are in long metre and consist of several stanzas of 9 to 14 lines. In this poetry, generally, the mortality of our life and other similar topics are discussed in a mystic way.
12. **Goshwara:** It is like the Persian or Urdu "Masnavi" Narrative couplets. In this usually the dignity and illustrious personalities and deeds of the Holy Prophet (Muhammad PBUH) and the Holy Imams (PBUT) are narrated with fervour.

13. **Ghazal:** These are the odes of love and romance exactly on the principles of Persian and Urdu Ghazal and Nazm.
14. **Sa-get-pi-glu:** These are the songs praising or encouraging the farmers and agriculturists in modern time.
15. **Milli-naghma:** These are like Urdu Milli-naghmas.

Some Prominant Balti Poets

We know very little about the Balti poets of ancient times except one person, "Al-bDe", but neither is his exact period known nor do we know his personal details. However, from the essence of his poetry and the language he has used we infer that he belonged to the time when Islam through Persian language and poetry had not yet affected the Abalti language and Poetry. We find only the **Ridagsi-glu** from him. Since the fall of Baltistan in 1840 AD, we find several high-calibre poets who have treated different subjects and categories. Some of them are as under :-

1. Muhib (Prince Hussain Ali Khan)²⁵. He was the youngest son of the last independent ruler of Baltistan-Ahmad Shah Maqpon²⁶ who was deposed and was deported to Jammu by the Dogras with his father while he passed away in Tral, District Pulwama, Kashmir. He wrote poetry in the Marsia form and is considered to be the Anees of Baltistan.
2. Zakir (Prince Muhammad Ali Khan). He was the grandson of king Ahmad Shah Maqpon, son of Prince Lutf Ali Khan (Aashiq) and nephew of "Muhid". He was born in Tral and expired there in exile. He was a poet of Qaseeda.
3. Baba Johar. He was from Haldia, a village of the Khaplo valley. His date of birth is not known, but he was alive in 1890 AD. He was a "Darwesh" following the Imamia Nurbakhshia traditions of Shiaite Faith. His field of poetry was Bahre-e-Taweel.
4. Syed Abbas²⁷ of Shigar. He was born in 1846 AD in

the Shigar valley of Baltistan. He was an excellent poet of the Qaseeda and the Goshwara.

5. Akhond Khuda Yar. His specific field of poetry was Bahr-e-Taweel and his verses on the Pologame comparing it with struggle in our life and its consequences is very famous.
6. Wahid (Muhammad Ali Khan). He was a very popular poet of the Ghazal and was successful dramatist writing for the Radio. He expired in Islamabad in 1985 AD.
7. Saba (Muhammad Ali Shah). He was born in Shigar (Baltistan) on 31st July 1924 and belongs to the former ruling family of Shigar valley-the Amacha. He is the most popular and respected poet of present time. His field of poetry is Ghazal and Qaseeda.
8. Hasni (Ghulam Hassan). A promising young poet of Balti as well as Urdu he is adept in every field of poetry, but his speciality is the Ghazal.
9. Hakeem (M. Hassan). He also is a very promising poet, famous for his archaic and classical touches.

Affinities with other Languages

All the languages and dialects of the mountain region in the north of Pakistan including Burushaski and Shina belong to the Indian or Persian group of languages, but the Balti is the only language which belongs to the "Tibeto-Burman" branch of "Sino-Tibetan" group of languages. Basically it has nothing in common with them except some words absorbed later on, owing to interaction of masses. Apparently, Balti is, at the moment, cut off from its sister-languages of Ladakh but has 80-90 per cent of nouns, pronouns, verbs and other literary and gramatical character in common except those few which made their place in Balti afterwards. We can, however, term Balti and Bodhi of Ladakh as separate dialects, but not separate languages.

Problems

The major problem of the Balti language is that it had to disconnect the relationship with its radical centre, Tibet, owing to political divisions and strong religious differences since last 500 years and even from its immediate neighbour Ladakh for the last 50 years. It has been left at the mercy of other languages and literatures which are stronger in quantity and vocabulary. The other major problem is the abandoning of its original script-Tibetan and during the last 500 years it has not been able to adopt a suitable script so far. This critical and adverse situation knocked away Balti from its original stream or natural track and left as an astray animal. At the moment neither the Baltis have the awareness to revive their original script nor there is any institution which could restore it and persuade the people to use it again. And the third problem is those Persian and Urdu letters which do not exist in Tibetan which have become now un-avoidable in some cases. There is an urgent need to establish a Forum to, at least, carry out initial efforts to revive its original status.

APPENDIX I

The following similarities between Balti and Ladakhi call for attention:

Balti Words	Ladakhi	English
mGo	mGo	Head
Mik	Mig	Eye
Laqpa	Lagpa	Hand/arm
Khap	Khap	Needle
Skutpa	Skutpa	Thread
Karfo	Karpo	White
Naqpo	Nagpo	Black
Marpho	Marpo	Red
Shing	Shing	Wood/timber
Chu	Chu	Water
Khi	Khi	Dog
Bila	Bila	Cat
Kha	Kha	Mouth
Chharpha	Chharpa	Rain
Khnam	nam	Sky
Sa	Sa	Soil/earth
bZo	Zo	Cross of Yak & Cow.
Da	Da	Arrow
gJu	gJu	Bow
Kangma	Kangpa	Leg/foot
Zermong	Sermo	Knail
Api	Abi	Grand-mother/ old w.
Ashe	Ache	Elder sister
Bang	Balang	Cow
Byango	Chamo	Hen/chicken
Ong	Yong	Come
Mendoq	Metog	Flower
Nang-Khangma	Nang-Khangpa	House (holds)
Shoq-shoq	Shugu	Paper.

Garba	Gra	Blacksmith
Shingkan	Shingkan	Carpenter
Bras	Das	Rice
Bakhmo	Paghma	Bride
Nene	Ane	Aunt
Khlang	Langto	Bull/ox
Stare	Stari	Axe
gZorba	gZora	Sickle
Khshol	Shol	Plough
Baqphe	Paghphe	(Wheat) Floor.
Skarchen	Skarchhen	Star (large & bright)
Namkhor	Namkhor	Cloudy

A few sentences:

Balti

Diring ngima tronmo
yod
Ringmo thaqpa gnis
khyong
Ra lug kun tshwa
kher
Zgo karkong kun ma
phes

Kushu chuli yod na zo

Ragi phali yod na
khyong

Ladakhi

Diring ngima tonmo
yod
Ringmo thagpa gnis
khyong
Ra lug kun tshwa
kher
Zgo karkong kun
ma phes

Kushu chuli yod na
zo

Ralgri phali yod na
khyong

English

The day/sun is
warm to-day.
Bring two long
ropes.
Take the goats &
sheep for grazing.
Don't open the
doors and
ventilators.
If there is (some)
apple & apricot
eat (it).
If there is (any)
sword & shield
(please bring them).

APPENDIX II

Influence of other languages on Balti

As mentioned above, Balti language has absorbed several Burushaski, Shina and Kashmiri words, but simultaneously Balti has also left an impact on Burushaski and Shina. Following are a few examples of such words used by each other:

Balti	Burushaski	Meaning
Bayu	Payu	Salt
Dango	Danggo	Wooden cabin for storage.
Mayon	Mayon	Oriol
Qao	Qao	Hey (calling some-one).
Dim	Dim	Body of a man/trunk of a tree.
Gachi	Gashik	A (small) stick to beat animal and children.
Ghashep	Khashep	Magpie
Gut	Gut	A dumb & deaf person.
Api	Api	Grand-mother/old woman.
Zizi	Zizi	Mother (honoraphic)
Bras	Bras	Rice (cooked & uncooked).
Bilbil	Bilbil	Full (cup/utencils)
Balbul	Balbulo	Warm (water/liquid).
Laqphis	Laqphis	Handkerchief.
Chha	Chha	Millet.
Brangsa	Brangsa	A camp (site, house etc).
mTshan-zar	Tshan-zar	A meal before dawn (by Muslims in Fasting month).
Thur	Thur	Whip.

Chhu-mKhang Choghang
Preko Preko

Pholing Phololing
Mulo Mulo
Bro Bro
Byarpha Byarpa

Balti

Shina

Thur
Ju
Mulo
Tsong
Momo
Chhastan

Thur
Ju
Mulo
Tsong
Momo
Chhastan

Khsamba
Pul
Bro
mThod
mTshir
Lche-khat
Thaldum
Trangpa
(Srangpa)
Bwar
Chadkha
Kangtse

Khsamba
Phul
Bro
Thod
Tshir
Lche-khat
Thaldum
Trangpa

Bwar
Chadkha
Kangtse

Toilet with bath.
A special vessel
for washing hands.
Wild mint.
Turnip.
Buckwheat.
Poplar (tree).

Meaning

Whip.
Yes (hono)
Turnip.
Onion.
Maternal uncle.
Mat (made of millet
straw).
Thoughts/to think.
Sodium.
Buckwheat.
Turban.
Line.
Stammerer.
Dust.
Village headman (official)

Water-melon.
A promise/certainty.
Socks.

NOTES

1. Chogo-ri is a Tibetan word which means the big/high mount and is called Karakoram-2 (K-2). It is the 2nd highest peak in the world with a height of 8611 mtrs.
2. Mashabrum or Karakoram-1 (K-1), is 7821 mtrs.
3. Gashabrum group i.e. G-1 (Hidden peak) 8068, G-2 8035, G-3 7952 and G-4 7925 mtrs.
4. Siachen is a Tibetan word which means a (place) having many wildroses. It is 75 kms. long and 5 to 10 kms. wide.
5. Baltoro is situated in the heart of the Karakoram and is called the Throne-room of Mountain Gods. This glacier is 58 kms. long and most of the highest peaks of Karakoram are situated around it.
6. Biafo is also a beautiful glacier having a length of the 69 kms and the world's famous "Snow-lake" is situated at the head of this glacier.
7. Chogo-lungma is a beautiful glacier 30 kms. in length. It means a big valley.
8. King Gesar Epic is pronounced by Baltis as Kesar. This epic is also very popular in Baltistan as in other Tibetan areas.
9. Palolashahi is a Chinese epithet to the rulers of Palolo areas i.e. Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit (4/5th Century to 727 A.D.). It seems to be a combination of Chinese Palolo or Palor and Persian Shahi. Local name of this ruling dynasty is not known.
10. These rock inscriptions are found in the Gilgit area.
11. He was the first Tibetan king who invaded Balti or Palolo area in 727 A.D. and conquered it.
12. According to the Tibetan-English Dictionary of reverened Jascke, Brushel is the "name of a country to the west of Tibet, bordering on Persia". It is the ancient and original name of the present Gilgit area.
13. The last and the famous Bon king of Tibet.
14. Shagari means "white-skinned" in Balti. These were the descendants of those Greeks who migrated to the Karakoram from Bactria after the death of Alexander the Great. They are one of the prominent ethnic group in Baltistan.
15. According to Hashmatullah Khan the compiler of "*Tareekh-e Jammu* etc." Ibrahim Shah was a fugitive prince of Egypt. He and his elder brother (with some other companions) managed to escape and arrived in Kashmir and having an opportunity got the throne of Kashmir, but very soon they had to take refuge in the mountains and Ibrahim Shah arrived in Skardo and thereafter marrying the Shagari princess he founded the Maqpon dynasty. According to Hashmatullah, Ibrahim Shah arrived in Skardo at the end of 12th

or in the beginning of 13th Century A.D. At that time the Fatimids (Caliphs) were ruling in Egypt but we do not get any historical evidence that any prince(s) of Fatimids took refuge towards India or Kashmir and they got the throne of Kashmir even for a couple of days.

16. Its correct pronunciation is Maqpa which means a son-in-law in Balti/Tibetan. Founder of the dynasty, Ibrahim Shah married the only daughter of the old Shagari ruler of Skardo and was called Maqpa. After the death of the old chief Maqpa, Ibrahim Shah became the ruler and thus Maqpon dynasty started.
17. Well known as "Amir Kabir", he was the first Muslim preacher who ever visited the Karakoram and spread Islam.
18. He was the son of Ghazi Mir-14th ruler of Maqpon dynasty. According to local traditions Ghazi Mir died when Ali Sher Khan was a child and he (Ali Sher Khan) had to flee to India where he succeeded in attracting the attention of Akbar the Great. Akbar deputed him with his army on some military operation. Thus Ali Sher Khan learnt sufficient war tactics and with the help of Akbar he got back his hereditary state of Skardo. With his extra-ordinary capability and intelligence he expanded his State from Western Tibet to Chitral. He was married to a Moghul princess "Gul Khatoon." One of his daughter was married with Prince Saleem (later Emperor Jahangir). In addition to his very successful military adventures, he was an engineer king of high calibre. We still have several remains of forts, channels, gardens and protecting-walls
19. In the reign of Maqpon Sultan Murad (1745-1780 A.D.) the Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Haji Karim Dad Khan deputed an army in 1779 A.D. under the command of Murtaza Khan who defeated Sultan Murad and received big amount in kind and cash and later returned to Kashmir.
20. Gulab Singh the ruler of Jammu under the command of Wazir Zorawar Singh invaded Baltistan in 1840 A.D. and with the help of Ali Sher Khan-the Raja of Kharmang valley, the Dogras arrested Maqpon Ahmad Shah the Ruler of Little Tibet (Baltistan) and deported him to Jammu. This was the end of Maqpon rulers.
21. To have a better idea of the ethnic groups of Baltistan please consult my research article "The ethnic groups of Baltistan" read in the International Seminar on the Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalaya-Sept. 1990 at the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich.
22. Professor Jampel with other two Chinese Scholars visited Skardo in Nov. 1994.
23. Maqpon kings from Ali Sher Khan Anchen to Shah Murad had very close political relationship with the Mughal emperors, Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.

24. Three years ago Yusuf Hussainabadi (Skardo) has written a booklet on Balti language and has tried to produce the Persian letters with some signs for Balti but it has also proved unsuccessful.
25. At the time of fall of Skardo he was only 9 years old. He was also made a captive and taken to Ladakh-Toghla-Khar-Ladakh-Jammu with his father.
26. He was the 24th and the last king of Maqpon Dynasty. He was enthroned in 1800 A.D. and dethroned in 1840 A.D. At the time of his arrest he was 65 years old.
27. He was the first Balti who ever translated the English Bible (Matthew) into Balti (written in Persian script) for the Missionaries in Baltistan in 1930s.

REFERENCES

1. Abbas Kazmi. 1984. *Balti Lok Geet* Published by National Institute of Folk Heritage, Islamabad.
2. -do- 1982. Yato, a Balti Folk song published in *Boloristan* the annual Magazine of Govt. Degree College, Gilgit.
3. -do- 1987. "Kesar Dastan" an introductory paper on the Epic of King Kesar/Gesar found in Baltistan published in *Quarterly Adabiyat* of Academy of Letters, Islamabad.
4. -do- 1994. "Hazrat Muhib ki Marsia-nigari" published in *Adabiyat*, Islamabad.
5. A.H. Dani 1989. *Islamic Architecture*. Published by National Hija Council, Islamabad.
6. Bielmeier R. 1988. The reconstruction of the stop series and the verbal system in Tibetan-a paper published in "Languages and History in the east Asia", Kyoto.
7. -do- 1982. Problems of Tibetan dialectology & language history with special reference to the SKYID-GRON dialect-a research paper for Seminars fur Sprach und Kultuwissenschaft, Universitat Bonn.
8. -do- 1985. A survey of the development of western and southern Tibetan dialects. Published in *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization* edited by B.N. Aziz, New Delhi.
9. H.A. Jaschke 1881. *Tibetan English Dictionary* (Indian re-print).
10. Haji. Q. Beg 1980. *Tareekh Ahd Ateeq Riyasat Hunza*.
11. Bielmeier R. 1988. On Tone in Tibetan-a research paper for 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies-Munich 1985.
12. Kacho Sikandar. 1987. *Qadeem Ladakh*.
13. Muhammad Hassan. 1992. *Tareekh Adabiyat Baltistan*.
14. Muhammad Yusuf Hussainabadi. 1984. *Baltistan par ek nazar*, Skardo.

15. Muhammad Yusuf Hussainabadi 1990. *Balti Zaban*, Skardo.
16. Jettmar Karl. 1980. (Reprint). *Bolor & Dardistan*. Published by N.I.F.H. Islamabad.
17. Mahmood Azad. 1970. *Tareekh Kashmir*. Published by Compiler.
18. Muhammad Q. Naseem. 1994. *Baltistan-Tareekh-o-Siasat*. Published by Progressive Publishers, Lahore.
19. Michiyo Hoshi. 1978. *Zanskar Vocabulary*, Published by Institute for the Study of Languages and culture of Asia & Africa, Tokyo.
20. Norbu Chophel. 1985. *New English Tibetan Dictionary*, New Delhi.
21. Tashi-Tshering. 1988. *English Tibetan Chinese Dictionary*, Beijing.
22. Read, F.C. 1939. *Balti Grammar*, London.
23. Roerich, G.N. 1978. (Revised) *Text book of colloquial Tibetan*, India.
24. Molvi Hashmatullah Khan. 1968 (Reprint). *Tareekh Jammu*, Lahore.
25. Rohit Vohra. 1987. An old route across Karakoram Mountain *U.S.I. Journal*, India.
26. Molvi Hashmatuallh Khan. A manuscript/file written and signed by the author and preserved in Revenue Record Room, Skardo.

GENERIC AFFINITY OF BALTI, BODHI, SPITI & LAHULI SPEECHES

S.K. Pathak

According to the Tibetan sources, mang yul (mi rigs man po'i yul) a land of many peoples is used in respect of the inhabitants of Western Himalayas (Himavanta). The ethnic description of the area is suggestive. The Indian Puranas mention that this snow-clad area is where the Naga, the Asura, the Yaksa, the Kinnara, the Gandharva were distinct from the Aryan (aryajana) inhabitants of Sindhu and Ganga river valleys and from the Dramila people belonging to the south of the Vindhya hills.

The Western Himalayas refer to Ladakh and its adjacent area like Kashmir (Kha che), Kandahar (Gandhara) and its eastern highland up to Lahul (lha yul). Mang yul which indicates an extensive area of the west and the north-west Himalayas had been a seat of heterogeneous peoples with a cultural fusion. Through the culture-scope of the Western Himalayan inhabitants one may observe various spectra while the scenario is wide and varied.

The traditional geographical name of this area is **pratiçya**, the western region adjacent, to **udicicya**, the northern belt of Bharatavarsa. Obviously, the extent of the Western Himalayas included a wide uneven area of mountain gorges, valleys and ravines in which Kashmir, Gandhara, Kamboja

and Madra janapadas belonged adjacent to Uttarakuru varsa.

A large number of Bod (Tibetan) people of Mongoloid origin preferred to spread in this area for several centuries. Their settlements cover a wide area of Balti, Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul and the Dokupa of northern belt. Here, a brief account about that movement of the peoples concerned may focus the genesis of their speeches.

For instance, Ladakh was an independent State comprising a large part of Western Tibet in olden days. A chronicle of Ladakh compiled in the 17th century called **La dvags rgyal rabs**, meaning the "Royal Chronicle of the kings of Ladakh", recorded that this boundary was traditional and well-known. A.H. Francke translates the portion of the text as follows:

"He (**skyid lde nyima mgon**) had to each of these three sons a separate kingdom, viz; to the eldest, Dpal-gyimgon, Maryul of Mnah-ris, the inhabitants using black bows; Ru-thogs of the east and the Gold-mine of Hgog; nearer this way Lde mchog-dkar-po; at the frontier Ra-bar-dmar-po; Wam-le, to the top of the pass of the yi-mig rock..."

Here Maryul means the low land in contrast to the high land of further north west sloping down. By the 10th century A.D. the boundary of Ladakh was upto Ruthog (Rudok) in the north and Lde mchog dkar po (Demchok) in the east. The yimig rock was adjacent to Imis pass and Wamle (i.e., Hanle). The present inhabitants of Spiti and Lahul were generally administered separately, though they belonged to the Mongoloid group.

According to the inscriptional evidence (7th century A.D.) Spiti was ruled by a Sena Dynasty. (See **Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum** Vol. III. p. 288-9 by Fleet). Raja Samudra Sena granted a copper plate *tāmra-śāsana* for founding Parasurama temple at Nirmand. The *Vamśāvati* of Kulu also refer to Raja Rajendra Sena became victorious in Kulu but Raja Chet Sena lost.

The Tibetan records mention the annexation of the Spiti

valley and Pare valley by Ladakh by the 10th century A.D. An order from the Head Lama of Hemis Gonpa of Ladakh is cited below:

"Order issued by Head Lama Dechon Namgial, ruler of Hemi Gunpa of Ladakh in concurrence with 200 Lamas delegating administrative powers to Nono Sonam Lotan of Churup: Following are the boundary limits of villages of Karak, Bargaiok, Sumkhel, Goondi, Churup, Tummur and Geu which fall within the jurisdiction of Hemi Gumpa and include forests, pasture lands, woods and water for irrigation".

Subsequently Spiti came under the occupation of Skyid lde nyi ma mgon in the 10th century A.D. The Ladakh chronicles state that the second son "he made ruler over Guge with Pu hrans (Purang) Rtse (Tse) etc. Lde gzuz mgon, the youngest was made a ruler over Zans dkar sgo gsum".

Zans dkar sgo gsum, the 'three doors' of Zanskar, was a reference presumably to the three valleys that join at the central part of Zanskar. Spi lcogs has been identified as Lahul (lha yul) which lies between Zanskar and Spiti referring to one of the three valley-doors (sgo gsum) of Zanskar.

The inhabitation consisted of Zhang Zhung pa who practised Pon (Bon) prior to the advent of Kyidenyimagon. Zang Zung pa settled in Stod (pa) (of upper region), smad (pa) (lower), and Bar (pa) of middle localities including Yo yul, Guge and Thoding (mtho lding). Among the inhabitants of those areas, Reng pa (in Naka), Ha srang, Tocho etc. the villagers preserve their clanwise distinctions though mutual exchange of commodities has prevailed since olden days.

Genera of Speeches in Western Himalayas

In the Western Himalayas there had been multiple of speeches spoken by different groups since the olden days. The Indus valley had been the seat of many peoples prior to the advent of the Aryans in that area.

As far as the literary evidences go, Panini (400 A.D.) endeavoured to systematise an acceptable speech after refinement out of various speeches which had then been prevalent in that region. In the history of the human language, it was probably the earliest endeavour of scientific systematisation in the human speech. He mentioned his predecessors like Śākātāyana, Vārsāyana Yaska, Mahesa and others. He took a bold step to declare his endeavour as **saṃskṛta bhāṣā**. **Saṃskṛta** literally suggests that which is refined or put together for purification. He distinguished **saṃskṛta** from **prākṛta** or common people speech or from the speeches of **asura**, **piśāca** and **mleccha**. Here, **asura**, **pisaca** and **mleccha** refer to those groups of people who failed to pronounce **Saṃskṛta bhāṣā**.

Who are the Asuras? The Asuras are said to have been incompetent in articulation of vowels and consonants accurately. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa takes care of the proper articulation of **saṃskṛta** (Vedic) consonants and vowels. For instance, they failed to articulate the araya (ḥ), correctly; 'helava helava' they-uttered (te 'asura attavacasa he 'alava he' 'alava 3.2.1.23). The Mādhyandina-branch of the Satapathi Brahmins were occasionally indifferent to correct articulation; so that they got corrupt recitation as the mlecchas did.

Mleccha were those who could not pronounce Saṃskṛta (vak) appropriately as prescribed in the Svarabidhana of the grammatical treatises. Mostly the mlecchas were the Kirata, the Savara, the Pulinda (Amarakośa, Śūdravarga).

Linguistically, Saṃskṛta bhāṣā is regarded as an offshoot of the Indo-European Speech Family. The Iranian speeches are considered as the sister Family of the Indo-Aryan Speech. It suggests that the Iranian language has got affinity with Vedic Sanskrit. Among the scholars who hold that the Aryans had their early home in the region of Bulk (Bactria) and Sogdiana in vicinity of Bokhara on the bank of Oxus (vaksu) river acknowledge that two courses of spoken language developed in India and Iran though closely to one another.

- (i) The Indian group refers to the Vedic speech together with ancient Prakrits, which were endeavoured by Panini (400 A.D.) for refinement. Those speeches are broadly named the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) languages with their subsequent development in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) i.e. Pali, Jaina Prakrit (Ardha Māgadhi) and important branches of Prakrita like Mahārāstri, Śauraseni, Magadhi. Again those are changed into the speeches of Apabhramsa, and, thereafter 'bhāsā' like Hindi, Assamese, Oriya, Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, etc.
- (ii) The Iranian Zend (or Zand) refers to its specimens available in the Avesta texts. Old Persian or Achemenian, Pahlavi, Modern Persian, Pustu and Armenian belong to this group.
- (iii) The Semetic languages derived from the Assyrian, Hebrew, Armanic (Aramaen) refer to Arabic, Hingaritic which are said to have entered the Western Himalayas after the advent of Islam.
- (iv) The inhabitants of Balti which is bounded on the north by the Muztagh range and Nagar, on the east by Ladakh, on the south by Wardwan and Zanskar and on the west by Gilgit and Astor speak a language distinct from the Western Tibetan Dialect or Bodi, Budhlor Bhot of Ladakh. Grierson in his **Linguistic Survey of India** (III.3) mentions the special characteristics of Balti. Sprigg has recently studied the peculiarities of the Balti speech in general.
- (v) The Brukpa people who are said to have migrated from Dardistan speak a distinct speech other than Balti and Ladakhi. In this respect, Siddheswar Varma in his study on Burushaski Language (1920) has focussed the linguistic peculiarities verily. At the same time the traditional account of the Bon-po priests, who had once migrated from Tazik (Stag gzig, broadly identified with Iran or old Persia in the Tibetan Literature), refer to their previous settlement in Bru

dza, (also written brug dza/brug toha/bru sa) in the Western Himalayas. The Bon po priests had there a separate speech named Zhang Zhung (also pron. hshang hshung/Shang Shung) which does not hold resemblance to Bodi/Bhoti of Ladakh offshooted from the Western Tibetan dialect, i.e. toi ka (stod skad).

Balti, Bodhi (bhoti), Spiti and Lahuli speeches

The Western Himalayas are inhabited by the Mon po, the Tchang pa (byan : The northern people), the Dards and the Mongoloids of Ladakh, Spiti and Lahul. The Brukpas do not claim themselves Mongoloids. Except the Muslims including those of Purig and Gilgit, the population professes Buddhism. In Ladakh and Lahul some Christian families are observed. In respect of the Buddhists, the written language is **chos škad** the uniform language used in the Buddhist scriptures. No divergence is observed there.

The Mons, the Tchang and the Dards who reside in the north west of Kashmir valley are said to have migrated since the Kusana period of the early Christian era. Mihirokula of the Hunas (6th century A.D.) could extend his control upto Ladakh. The Tibetan sources, claim that Srong btsan sgam po (650 A.D.) conquered the territory upto Gilgit and the Pamirs. The **Rajatarangini** refers to the Tibetan control in that area as Lalitaditya (699-736 A.D.) is reported to have driven out the Bhauttas (Tibetans) out of his kingdom.

The western Tibetan dialect of Tibetan i.e. Nyargi ka (mñā' ris skad) is said to have been induced in this area by the different heterogeneous groups of Bhotias since the 7th century A.D., though the **Ladwags kyi rgyal rab** is silent. The Balti-speaking persons reside in Ladakh, Kargil and Baltistan. The Balti speakers invented their separate script after embracing Islam in the early 15th century A.D. Purik (Purig) which belonged to Ladakh earlier was handed over to the Raja of Balti after the Dogra war against Ladakh (1846 A.D.). The Bhauttas inhabit the area from Zojila to Mulbeck to Dras.

The Western Tibetan Dialects (Toi-ka)

- (i) Nyarikä (mñ a' ris skad): The people residing in Ruthak (Rudok), Gartok, Yumbamtsang, Hundesh, Bhongtha, Kailas Mansarovar and Surnge usually speak a specific dialect. The main peculiarity of this dialect is to maintain the suffix letters or jenjuk (res 'jug) letters of a word and to retain the sound **Sange Lango** and **rango**, while they remain in the second part of the compound words.
- (ii) Tcang-ke (byan Skad): The Tsangpo river is known as Matsang in the Western Tsang. The locality on both sides of the river Matsang including Shigatse and Saka may be known as the area of the Tsang-ke-dialect-speaking region. The Lhabrang Dzong in the north and Zonkha Dzong in the south also belong to this region. The dokmi tribe who are inhabitants of the southern bank of Tsangpo approaching the Indian borders, however, speak a different dialect which may be called Lahulka which holds affinity with the Ladakhi-kä of the Indo-Tibetan speeches.

Tö kat or Stod skad (the broad nomenclature of the Tibetan dialects of the Western Tibet including Nyari-kä and Tcang-kä) came down upto Gilgit and Skardu areas though a large number of Persian diction and usage have entered in the speech inadvertently. The pronunciation has become more bisyllabic and polysyllabic owing to variation of accentuation.

In respect of the inhabitants of Balti, the dictions are not always akin to Persian or to Pashtu. Despite that, the pronunciation, and consonantal accentuation do not resemble to those by the south-western Ladakhi or Bodhi speakers.

In Ladakh, the inhabitants also preserve different identity as regards their spoken tongue, particularly, the speech of Leh does not resemble to that of Chushul and Demchok on the east or to that of the inhabitants of Alchi.

The Ladakhi dialect also resembles with that of Khalatse

in lower Ladakh, in which the following sub-dialects are observed.

- (i) Shaur: from Hanu in the west to Suspol, Basgo in the east.
- (ii) Leh: to the east of Sham upto Shih
- (iii) Rong: east of Leh to Zanskar
- (iv) Rabshu: close to Bod Skad.

In this connection, the Shina and the Dard speeches deserve a special mention for their peculiarities. As discussed above the Dard speech is not monosyllabic like the Bodhi, with an affinity with Brukhsa which holds a tendency of the Old Iranian speech like Pahlavi. The Shina speech though belonging to the Iranian Speech Family, preserves its affiliation to later Persian which requires a separate study.

Phonetically, in Balti speech, vowel *a* and (*a*) are open syllables, sometimes long in contrast to closed vowel like (short) *mi*, *min*. In some cases, a specific tendency of lengthening prevails with hard accentuation of words beginning with consonant initials. Where as in the spoken Ladakhi it appears to be soft in case of the consonantal initials.

It is evident from above that the spoken languages of Western Himalayas appear to be varied but a generic affinity prevails, i.e. *toi ka* (stod skad). Metaphorically, these represent a flower bouquet in which every bunch holds the individual identity inspite of assemblance i.e. unity in diversity.

A. WORDS

Balti: bustring (woman); ldzod/lzod (moon, month), gion-pa (the left side); strin mo (sister); be ngo (daughter, girl); o-nga/in (yes); met/men/mendule (no); ibzhi (four); ghafcu (fifty); gha (five).

Purig:

bo mo (woman); lzai mo (moon, month); gion (the left side); srin mo (sister); bo-no (daughter, girl); onga/in/yotduk (yes); met/men/mendu (sometimes); mendula (no); zhbi/sbyi (four); gha (five).

Ladakhi:

(Bodhi/Bhoti):

bumo/bo mo (woman); lda-wa/lza (moon, month); gyon pa/yon (the left side); string mo (sister); bu mo (daughter, girl); in/yot (yes); zhi (four); ngapen (fifty); shnga/nga/gha (five).

Lahuli:

bu-mo (woman); (1) da-wa (moon, month); you pa (the left side); shrin mo (sister) bo-mo (daughter, girl); ona (yes); man (no); bzi/zhi (four); ngaben (fifty); snga (five);

Spiti:

bhu mo (woman); da wa (moon, month); ghyon pa (the left side); shrin mo (sister); bhu mo (daughter, girl); ong (yes); min (no); shi (four); hugapen (fifty); nga (five).

Shina:

aje (woman); zald (moon, month); gianto (the left side); catr (four); aje (daughter, girl); ju (yes); Saje/Shajs (r)e (sister); nus (no)

Dok pa:

mu (woman); da (moon, month); wan (the left side). srunyo (sister); cat (four); pac (five) duh (daughter, girl); yea/yera (yes); naishe (no).

Zauskar ka:

cham (woman); zlad (moon/month); gyon (the left side); no (sister); bizhi (four); nga (five); sas/bumo (daughter, girl), yod/lags (yes); med (no).

B. SENTENCES**Balti:**

nga yot (I am); nga yot pa (I was); nga se bong bu thank ruk (I beat an ass); bakshis ju (Thank you, Sir); Yati nangnu (nar) ba lang

- Purig:** cham yod (Have you cattle at home?); ngai nangnu nyis balong yet ba sum nyisu pholakh, sumthu ra yet (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs, thirty goats). ngarang yin ne (I am); ngarang yet pin (I was); ngas bong bu rdung duk (I beat an ass); Che rang mju (thank you); Yanti balang nangnu cham yot (Have you cattle at home?) ngai khanma nyis balang yot, ba sum, phah mishu sumen raluk yot (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs and thirty goats/sheep).
- Ladakhi:** nga in (I am, I was); nga bongngu rdung at (I beat an ass); thugs jeche (thank you); nga rug khampa na balang ra lug cham yod (have you cattle at home?); nga'i Khampana lhang to nyis ba sum yang raluk nyishu gang ing nyishu tsanga yod (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty five sheep).
- Lahuli:** nga yod (I am); nga yod (d) n (I was); nga bong bu bongu (r) dung yot (I beat an ass); thug jeche (thank you); khtot nangna balang raluk cicam yot lhang bo nyis ba mo sum falug phagpa ga nyesu tsa nga yot (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, five pigs, twenty five sheep).
- Spiti:** nga yod (I am); nga in (I was); nga pongbu gyab la yot (I beat an ass); thug (s), je che (thank you); khyo de khampala palang kachod yot (How many cattle are at home?) ngai khangpala lang nyi yot palang sum, teno lug nyishu nama nyitsenga yot (I have two oxen, three cows, twenty five goat).
- Shina:** as hun (I am); as hun (I was); Sbong bus ruken (I beat an ass); ju bakshis (Thank you Sir); the gore tires kacha han (Have you cattle at home?); aso gore dudone

hain, tregabe hain, bi lasa, tri gathe hain (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs, thirty goats).

Dog pa: mo ashi (I am); mo ash (I was); mumos bong to (I beat an ass); zhuznu (Thank you, Sir); mu gotar zoo theo han, zoomo tria han (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs, thirty goats)

Zanskar skad: nga yod (I am); nga yod (I was); Sbongburdung (I beat an ass); thugjes (Thank you); Khyerang Khangpar tundo palang (Have you cattle at home?) cham yoth, ngaji Khangkar lanto nis pahsi sumi (I have a pair of oxen, three cows, twenty pigs, thirty goats)

SOURCES

Bruce, C.G., *Kulu and Lahaul*. London, 1914.

Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1973-76.

Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic survey of India*. Vol. I & III, Delhi, (Reprint), 1967.

Hay, W.C. Report on valley of Spiti and facts collected with a view to a future Revenue Settlement. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vol. xix, 1850. pp. 429-48.

URDU IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Nishat Ansari

Nestled in the Himalayan region, the fascinating State of Jammu and Kashmir has from time immemorial been a confluence of various streams of culture and civilizations, due to its close commercial and cultural relations with the adjoining Central Asia.

With the advent of Islam and Muslims in the Kashmir valley, Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages came alongwith. Persian was the same language which bore close resemblance and relation with **Avesta** and Aryan language for hundreds of years. The Persian language pushed Sanskrit into background. Both the Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus alike produced creative works and literary masterpieces, which have become pride of the Persian language and for the same reason Kashmir has been often called **Iran-i-sagheer** (smaller Iran).

On the other hand, the language brought by the Aryans obliterated all the regional dialects and gave birth to a new language, which was called **Apabhramsh** out of which emerged **Haryanavi**, **Khadiboli**, **Mewati** and **Braj Bhasha** in the shape of modern Indian languages. Braj Bhasha and Persian language had an interaction since the invasion of Mehmood Gaznavi (1021 AD). When Mughal rule was at its zenith, a new language known as Urdu came into

existence. This new language was sometimes called **Lashkari**, sometimes "**Urdu-i-Moalla Raikhta** and sometimes **Hindustani**. Urdu is a language that absorbed numerous words of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, English, Latin, Sanskrit and other languages. For this diversity Urdu language is looked upon as an **ESPERANTO** i.e. an artificial global language which has elasticity and can serve as a lingua franca among the people with diverse cultures. Urdu became quite popular in Northern India.

It was the period when East India company had established their rule in India. The mother tongue of the new rulers was English. They had occupied India to rule Indians and needed a language whereby they could consolidate their firm grip. So they adopted Urdu as the link language. Accordingly they took practical steps to promote Urdu. For this purpose East India company laid the foundation of the Fort William College, Calcutta in 1757 AD under the directorship of the renowned orientalist John Gilchrist. Experienced Hindu and Muslim scholars, poets and thinkers like Mir Amin Dehilvi, Sher Ali Afsos, Lallo ji Lal, Mirza Ali Lutuf, Bahadur Ali Hussani, Haider Baksh Haidari, Hafeez-ud-din Ahmad, Nihal Chand Lahori, Mazhar Ali Vila, Akram Ali etc. were employed to translate the famous books of Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and other languages into Urdu prose. In this way Urdu began to flourish under the direct patronage of the British Government. In Kashmir, the importance of Persian language dwindled with the end of Afghan rule and with the beginning of Sikh rule. Urdu, however, had sprouted in Kashmir in the State courts, revenue department and other government and semi-government offices came under its influence. Prior to this linguistic change in the J&K State, Urdu had come to forefront during the reign of Jahangir's rule in northern India. Later, the British encouraged the employment of Urdu in order to strengthen their political and administrative control and to facilitate their communication with the Indians, which helped Urdu to

flourish and dominate. In undivided Punjab this new language had influenced the rich as well as the middle class people. Since the link between Kashmir and the rest of India was through Punjab, the impact of Urdu on Kashmir became obvious.

The Dogra ruler Maharaja Gulab Singh proved to be the most powerful Raja of this hilly State after Maharaja Ranjeet Singh of Punjab. Gulab Singh extended his kingdom by annexing Ladakh, Skardu, Kishtwar, and the district Jhelum. Although the official and court language at that time was Persian, the Dogra region of Jammu had accepted the impact of Urdu more quickly than the people of the valley. Thus the speakers and scholars of Persian in the J&K State had to encounter Urdu, which had by then assumed the status of an acclaimed literary language in Punjab and the vast Himalayan areas of India.

During the popular uprising of 1857 against the British, Maharaja Gulab Singh had helped the British Government both by money and manpower. In this connection the written appeal made by British authorities to Maharaja Gulab Singh was written in the Urdu script which is still lying in the Manuscript records of Dr. Karan Singh (former *Sadar-i-Riyasat* of the State). Maharaja Ranbir Singh affected many reforms right from the day he ascended the throne and the Criminal Code of his State was written in Urdu. In order to develop regional languages of the State, Maharaja set up a translation cell in Jammu, where Urdu played a dominant role. For this purpose a press namely **Bidya Bilas** was established in Jammu for the first time. It was at this press that the first Urdu newspaper of this State titled **Bidya Bilas** was published under the editorship of Pandit Gopi Nath Gurtoo, which continued till 1938 A.D.

This was the period when Urdu writers having interest in Kashmir started publishing newspapers from Lahore, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, Sialkot and Jullandhar, of which MURASALA-I-KASHMIR, KHAIR KHAHI KASHMIR, PUBLIC NEWS and RAFEEQ-I-HINDUSTAN were worth

the name. The non-Kashmiri Hindu and Muslim Scholars, poets and penmen, whose fore-fathers had migrated to different cities of Punjab and northern India in the past played a key role in the publication of these newspapers. Besides, the people who were in the government service in Kashmir were interested to develop the Urdu language. The two brothers, Pandit Hargopal Khasta and Pandit Saligram Salik played a vital role in the propagation of Urdu.

Following the death of his father Ranbir Singh and the ascension of Maharaja Pratap Singh to the throne in 1885 AD, the British Government appointed a Resident in Kashmir for the first time. From then onwards, Maharaja had virtually to work under the Resident's supervision. This drastic step too facilitated the advancement of the Urdu language as it was already used as a link language by the Britishers. However, Urdu was recognised as a State and official language only in 1889 AD. During the period some Parsi Theatrical Companies of Bombay got an opportunity to stage played called **Nataks**. This too helped in further promotion of Urdu in the State. These Natak companies brought the public closer to this link language. Besides, the professional Urdu signers from Punjab rushed to Kashmir and under their influence all the streets, bazars and lanes of Jammu and Srinagar echoed with their melodious songs in Urdu. All these agencies combined to make the J&K State a platform for popularising Urdu.

One of the reasons of rapid progress of Urdu after Persian, was that the Kashmiri language spoken by the majority suffered due to negligence and non-acceptance by the rulers for about 500 years and Kashmiri language could not emerge out of its dialectal shell. Consequently Urdu took its place.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh or Pratap Singh might have made Dogri (their own mother tongue) the State and official language, but for the fact that the J&K State is physically divided into three heterogenous units, having different cultures, customs, traditions, modes of living, clothing and

mother tongues. The people living in those three regions speak different dialects like Kashmiri, Dogri, Bodhi, Balti, Hindi, Gojri, Punjabi, Pahari, Pogli, Siraji, Dardi, Shina, Bhadarwahi etc. Among these Kashmiri, Dogri and Bodhi are considered to be the established regional languages of this State. To string these diverse units Urdu was accorded the status of link as well as the official language. One more reason was that Kashmiris, Jammuvis, and Ladakhis had been conversant with Urdu and felt closer to it. Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims had been writing and speaking Persian since the period of Shahmiri Sultans. The similarity of script, homogenous alphabets, grammar and a great treasure of vocabulary absorbed in Urdu made it more acceptable to Dogra rulers than Punjabi or Dogri. The state's practical association with Urdu, therefore, became imperative.

After Sanskrit and Persian it is only Urdu that proved to be the source of literary satisfaction to the people of the State. Though Urdu had originated far away from the State, the Kashmirians irrespective of religion, caste and creed nourished this language with the sweat of thier brow. They employed all their creative intelligence, potentials and faculties to promote it. To them this language is as important as their mother tongue and they have chosen it as medium of expression, thoughts and feelings during the past century. During this long spell they have published newspaper written novels, short stories, dramas, critical essays and composed creative poetry. They have sung the songs of freedom from the stages in this language. Any serious literate of Urdu literature cannot overlook their contributions and achievements. Just as Delhi Dabistan, Lucknow School, Rampor Dabistan, Lahore School and Haiderabad Dabistan are considered as main schools of thought in Urdu, similarly Kashmiri Dabistan-i-Urdu also has been acknowledged as one of the schools of thought all over the country.

From among the regional languages of the State, Kashmiri, Dogri, Gojri, Punjabi, and Bodhi are also being provided

adequate facilities to promote and flourish along with the official language (Urdu). But Urdu is the link language as it integrates and promotes the diverse cultural units of J&K State. In this connection the individual endeavour and the efforts of the government and semi-government agencies are also praiseworthy. The prominent agencies that came into existence after 1947, like Cultural Front, All State Cultural Conference, Literary Forum, Anjuman-i-Arbab-i-Zauq, Halqa-i-Ilm-u-Adab, Anjumani-Tarakki Pasand Musanifeen, Bazmi Urdu Adab, Bazmi Adab Kishtwar, Anjuman-i-Tarakki-i-Urdu, and Anjuman-i-Farogi Urdu, Jammu have played an excellent role in the propagation of the Urdu Language. Among other agencies of communication, the State Information Department, State Cultural Academy, Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, Doordarshan Kendra, Srinagar, Radio Kashmir Jammu, Iqbal Institute and Urdu Departments of Kashmir and Jammu Universities are in the forefront.

For the past 110 years Urdu has pervaded the social, political, cultural and educational fields completely. During the past 40 years good books on different topics and subjects of prose and poetry are being published every year. Text books from Primary to Post-Graduate level are published in Urdu. The teachers and literary persons use Urdu as a medium of learning and teaching in all the three cultural units of the State. For the presentation of this old and new literature to the people outside the State, Urdu is the only medium. To introduce the traditional architecture, customs, values, rituals etc. beyond the territories of the State, Urdu is the ready means of communication and medium of expression.

The main role of the Urdu language and literature is its speedy effect on every genre of Kashmir poetry so much so that communist and progressive movements which began in late third and early fourth decades of this century, influenced Kashmiri and other native dialects of the State equally. Similarly when after 1950, the whole country began

to echo with modernism imitating new trends in English literature in Urdu, Kashmiri too was considerably influenced by these trends and modernism. So much so that now every literary movement starting in European countries is getting quickly reflected in Urdu as well as Kashmiri and other regional languages.

So far as Urdu journalism is concerned, it has brought revolutionary changes following the freedom of press and platform after 1933. At present besides Srinagar and Jammu cities, various Urdu dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies, journals and periodicals are being published in every town of the State. In the field of politics, the leaders also use Urdu to deliver speeches, sermons or addresses. Urdu has not remained static or stagnant but has a capacity to assimilate every new trend, new change and new movement that takes place any where with the passage of time. Urdu has thrown away the mantle of conventionalism.

Urdu as a link language of the State has laid deep impression on Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi and Gojri, which can be ascertained by meeting students reading in the schools and colleges in all the three units of the State. While teaching Arabic, Sanskrit or Persian learned teachers and professors take refuge under the umbrella of Urdu to bring home to students the most tedious or complicated explanations. Even the gist of science topics is conveyed to students in Urdu. In the University examinations answers to the questions of Persian and Arabic papers are written in Urdu and not in Arabic or Persian languages.

The genres of literature that Urdu received from Persian language have affected other regional languages of the State and the fiction, dramas, novels etc. written in these regional languages have an unmistakable stamp of Urdu. While Kashmiri is dominated by Sanskrit and Persian languages, numerous Urdu words like **darwaza**, **makan**, **khet**, **tijarat**, **darbar**, **dukh**, **tayar**, **kameez**, **jurab**, **khe'il**, **kami**, **janvar**, **ziarath**, **sheer**, **onnt**, **bulbul**, **nahar**, **darya**, **samandar**,

aasman, sham, jantari, dosti, pardah, aainak, banyan, sandok, kanchi, talwar, booth, pari, bistur, dakoo, lutaira, safed, sabaz, fawara, sabzi, sadak, chaiye, jihad, tamasha etc. are used in toto and have the greatest frequency and currency in day to day conversation among Kashmiri. Whatever new trend affects Urdu from outside the State, the regional languages quickly emulate it.

Any difference, distinctness or lingual dissimilarity between Urdu and other regional languages of the State is because the grammar of Urdu is different from that of Dogri, Gojri and Bodhi. The very old poetic genres of Kashmiri literature like **Vaak**, **Shruk**, **Vatsun** and **Pad** have not been affected by Urdu even after such a long association and interaction. One more reason of dissimilarity is that Kashmiri and Dogri languages are stuffed mostly with Sanskrit words and vocabulary. Besides, the cultural background of Urdu is at variance with Kashmiri cultural background. That is to say that in Urdu the cultural background of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Hyderabad is reflected very adequately.

So far as the problems of Urdu are concerned, the greatest tragedy befell Urdu when the country was divided in 1947, and Pakistan declared Urdu as its national language. Its negative affect restricted the flourishing of Urdu language in India because it was presumed that Urdu is a language of Muslims. Secondly in the VIII schedule of Indian constitution recognition was conferred on the regional languages and dialects spoken in the country which aroused lingual awareness everywhere and it led to prejudice against Urdu in the non-Urdu speaking areas.

For this reason Urdu is being treated as a secondary language in Ladakh and Jammu. Although Urdu is constitutionally the official language of the State. yet all the official correspondance in educational institutions, courts and offices is being carried in English. When the question of promoting mother tongues is raised, Urdu is pushed further in the background. The Jammuvis plead for Dogri,

Kashmiris for Kashmiri and Ladakhis for Bodhi, but none advocates the case of Urdu. No doubt the Jammu and Kashmir Universities have established their Urdu departments, but the number of Urdu students is quite low as compared to other subjects. All these reasons and facts portend a dismal future for Urdu in the J&K State.

There is no dearth of Urdu speaking people in Kashmir but their pronunciation, accent and intonation are defective and they fail to equate themselves with the Urdu speaking people of Delhi, Hyderabad, and Uttar Pradesh. Highly qualified Urdu knowing persons in the State speak Urdu like *yeh meri ticket hai, mahi Ramzan ka mahena aaya, bay fazool bahas mat karo, darwaza dedo*. Learned Urdu speaking people make mistake in gender and number. Thus Urdu has failed to become the common language of Kashmiris, even though the J&K state has the distinction of according it a State language status.

HINDI IN KASHMIR

R.K. Sharma

Kashmir is a non-Hindi region, yet the number of people who can speak Hindi clearly and intelligibly here, is considerable. A sizable section of the educated urban and semi-urban population in the valley is well-acquainted with the standard literary form of the language. Though no exact figures of the Hindi knowing Kashmiris are available, it can be safely said that their number easily runs into thousands*. This is accounted for by the fact that for centuries there has been a deep socio-cultural contact between what constitutes the Hindi region and the vale of Kashmir, despite the geographical barriers separating the two. Apart from its importance as a great tourist attraction, Kashmir has been a world famous seat of Sanskritic learning¹. There has, therefore, been a constant influx of people to this land for not only its scenic beauty but also for cultural and intellectual exchange.

The holy cave of Amarnath (along with other places of pilgrimage) has also been attracting, since ages, millions of pilgrims² from every nook and corner of India, including

* The number of students in M.A., used to be the highest in Hindi in the Kashmir University and in B.A., it was about 25% of those offering Urdu.

naturally the Hindi speaking area. In this process of cultural give and take between Kashmir and other parts of the country, literary and linguistic influences have also crept in. There is no doubt that the language used by the local populace for communicating with those from outside the State has been for centuries Sanskrit³ and later on Hindi. No matter whether a Sadhu belongs to Tamil Nadu or Assam, whether his mother-tongue is Malayalam or Bengali, he will converse with the Kashmiri in Hindi, and Hindi alone; it being of little consequence whether the Hindi used by him adheres strictly to grammatical norms or not. It is these Sadhus to whom the credit can be given for not only introducing Hindi language to Kashmir but also popularising the devotional songs of Hindi poets like Surdas, Tulsidas and Mira Bai.

Besides tourists and Sadhus, professional considerations and business interests have drawn hundreds of people from the plains of Punjab to settle in Kashmir. Likewise hundreds of Kashmiri labourers move down to the plains during the hard winter months in search of work. The language used by these people to communicate with each other is again Hindi; spoken Hindi, (Hindustani). Thus it was centuries back that the Kashmiris realized and recognized the inherent possibilities of Hindi in developing as an all-India link language.

Linguistically speaking, Hindi is not so alien a language for the people of Kashmir. It has many lexical affinities with Kashmiri as both are members of the Indo-Aryan group of languages and both have drawn heavily from Sanskrit sources⁴ for their vocabulary.* A study of the earliest extant literary works in the Kashmiri language—*Mahanaya Prakash*⁵, *Banasaur Katha*⁶ and *Sukhdukh Charit*⁷ will reveal beyond any

* The research carried out in the Kashmir University has proved, beyond doubt, that Kashmiri is an **Apabhramsa** of Vedic Sanskrit and contains about 80% words of Sanskrit or of Sanskrit origin. See **Vitasta** (Vol. III to VIII) (Journal of Hindi Deptt., Kashmir University, Srinagar).

shadow of doubt the fact that like Hindi, Kashmiri also has been derived from Sanskrit—rather Vedic Sanskrit⁸.

It should also be noted that an astonishingly large number of words are common to Kashmiri and certain dialects of Hindi like Braj⁹, Rajasthani¹⁰ and Avadhi¹¹. This makes it clear why it is not difficult at all, for a Kashmiri to pick-up Hindi. Apart from their common inheritance from Sanskrit, the two languages have other features also which bring them close to each other. This is not to deny the many phonological and morphological differences between them. It is due to these differences that Hindi as it is spoken by a Kashmiri has like Indian-English, developed many a peculiarity and oddity of its own. Difficulties in pronunciation of some Hindi phonemes and in grasping some of its grammatical forms encountered by a Kashmiri are no doubt considerable. 'Voiced-aspirated' Hindi consonants are often pronounced (and also written) by a Kashmiri without aspiration¹². While speaking Hindi most Kashmiris tend to apply Kashmiri grammar to it. This is due to the fact that they think in Kashmiri and then come out with a literal translation of it. Some of the expressions of what may be termed as Kashmiri—Hindi are really quite amusing. The close geographical proximity to Punjab has also resulted in several Punjabi and Urdu expressions and words being used by Kashmiris while speaking Hindi. Yet there is an elite of educated Kashmiris who can wield standard literary Hindi with the same ease, fluency and precision as any one belonging to the Hindi-speaking region. Hindi can be said to be the language of their intellectual make-up.

Nothing definite can be said as to when Hindi was first introduced in Kashmir, but one is sure that it has been here for the last several centuries now. The great **Bhakti** movement which had swept the entire country during the middle ages has had a tremendous impact on Kashmir also, giving rise to a rich body of devotional lore. Inspired by this cult, many a Kashmiri poet wrote devotional verses

in Hindi alongside his/her mother-tongue. There is ample evidence to show that such attempts started much earlier than the 17th-18th century. One finds a number of Hindi verses interspersed in the sayings of Roop-Bhawani¹³, the noted Kashmiri mystic poet of 17th century who composed verses after the manner of the saint poetess Lalleshwari. The grammatical correctness of her Hindi verse is sometimes surprising, keeping in view the period when these were composed. They have, therefore a great historical significance.

Parmanand¹⁴, a 'Bhakta' poet of great stature (late 18th-19th century) who has sung of the immortal love of Radha and Krishna, has also burst into songs in Hindi at many places in his great work *Radha Swayamvara*. The Hindi used by the poet is a strange admixture of Braj, Khari Boli, Punjabi and Kashmiri, which he chooses to call **Bhakha**. Some of these **Bhakha** verses of his bear unmistakable marks of the famous Hindi poet Surdas's influence. However Parmanand's Hindi verses cannot be said to have touched the heights achieved by his Kashmiri poetry. They are of more importance as literary curiosities.

Parmanand's disciple Lakshmanjoo 'Bulbul' of Nagam, has also written a few poems in Hindi. Some of his devotional songs have been composed in a strange mixture of Hindi and Kashmiri. Similar bilingual essays have been made by that great poet of the 'Leela School' of Kashmiri poetry, Shri Krishna Razdan¹⁶, the lilt of whose lyrics, is reminiscent of Jayadeva, the poet of *Geet Govinda*.

Another 19th century poet, Lalji Zadoo has written a full-fledged epic in Hindi. It is a work of considerable literary merit and has been composed in popular metres of medieval Hindi poetry like the **Doha-Chaupayee** and **Sortha**. In the *Krishnavatar* by Manjoo Suri Attar, the use of Hindi words (at places complete verses) is very frequent¹⁸.

The tradition of devotional poetry continued uninterrupted to the third or fourth decade of the present century. Like Parmanand, 'Bulbul' and Shri Krishna Razdan, Thakurjoo Manvati¹⁹, Haldarjoo Kokru²⁰ and Pt. Nilakanth

Sharma (famous for his *Ramayana* in Kashmiri) wrote side by side with their Kashmiri poems, many poems in Hindi infused with devotional, religious and ethical fervour. It is not just a matter of coincidence that the Kashmiri poet took occasional excursions into versification in Hindi. He wrote in Hindi not for any considerations of pecuniary gain or lure of high office, but because he recognized in Hindi a language of all-India significance. Poetry of the great devotional poets of Hindi like Tulsidas, Surdas, Kabir and Mira had such a deep impact on him, that for the Kashmiri 'Leela' school, 'Bhakti' and Hindi became almost synonymous. The 'Leela' poet felt it necessary to write at least a verse or two in the language in which Surdas composed his *Sursagar* or Tulsid his *Ramcharitmanas*, in order to establish his bonafides as a devotional poet.

In 1941, the late Pt. Zinda Koul 'Masterji' famous Kashmiri mystical and humanist poet, published five Hindi poems written by him, in the form of a booklet entitled *Patra Pushpa*. These poems underline a deep and unshakable faith in the essential goodness of man and in higher human and ethical values. The poems convey the poet's message of goodwill and peace for the entire mankind, in a Hindi, that is lucid and sweet. These writers of devotional poetry did not express themselves in Hindi (alongside their mother tongue) just for the fun of it. Their choice of Hindi as a medium of expression clearly implies an appreciative and understanding audience.

Hindi received official patronage in the State during the reign of the enlightened Dogra ruler, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who accepted Hindi in Devnagri script as one of the official languages of the state. His successor, Maharaja Pratap Singh made Urdu the official language and Persian the court language. Yet Hindi came to be accepted as one of the subjects included in the curricula of educational institutions in the State.

In Maharaja Hari Singh's time, the then Director of Education, Sayyedain declared easy Urdu in both Persian

and Devnagri characters to be the official medium of education in the State. This also gave impetus to the spread of Hindi in Kashmir.

It were, however, the voluntary organisations which played an important role in propagating and popularising Hindi in Kashmir and widening its base here. In the pre-independence era, several social, cultural, religious and literary organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Sanatan Dharma Sabha, the Jeevan Sudhar Sabha the Mahavir Dal, Hindi Parishad, Hindi-Sanskrit Sahitya Mandal and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan did much to promote the cause of Hindi. These organisations prepared students for appearing in Hindi examinations, established a number of Hindi medium educational institutions and published a number of magazines etc. in the Hindi language, besides their other activities. The weekly *Chandrodaya* and *Mahavir*—the first Hindi magazines to be published in Kashmir—did a commendable work in popularising Hindi in Kashmir. They also provided opportunities to Hindi writers of that age (Durga Prasad Kachru, Prithvi Nath Pushp, Veer Vishweshwar, Janki Nath Koul 'Kamal' and others) for self-expression.

In the post-independence era also the role of voluntary organisations has been important. The emphasis now shifted slowly from mere propagation of Hindi to popularising its literature and encouraging literary activity in it. The Kashmir Hindi Pracharini Sabha, Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, Kashmir Hindi Sansthan and the Kashmir Hindi Sahitya Sammelan deserve a special mention in this context. An entire generation of Hindi writers of Kashmir owes much to the Sammelan for the inspiration and encouragement it gave them in their literary pursuits. *Kashyap*—the monthly literary magazine of the Sammelan did a great deal to bring to the lime-light the literary talents of young Hindi writers of Kashmir.

Other notable Hindi literary journals of the State include *Yojna* (a monthly magazine published by the State

Information Department), *Sheeraza* (Hindi) a bi-monthly journal published by the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, and *Vitasta*—published by the Post-Graduate Department of Hindi of the University of Kashmir. All these journals have since ceased publication.

A group of young Hindi writers emerged in Kashmir in the fifties who choose Hindi as the medium of literary expression. These writers (notable among whom are Hari Krishna Koul, Moti Lal Kemmu, Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani, Ratan Lal 'Shant' and Mohan Lal 'Nirash') are all endowed with modern sensibility and spot-light the contemporary human situation in their writings in an idiom that is essentially modern. An anthology of Hindi poems of modern Kashmiri poets published in 1971 by The Kashmir Hindi Sansthan, has been very well received by the Hindi world. Modern Hindi writers of Kashmir have made their mark not only in poetry, but also in drama and short stories. Almost all the top creative writers of Hindi, in Kashmir and Ladakh grouped themselves under the banner of Kashmir Hindi Sansthan, a voluntary organisation.

Before the advent of terrorism in the valley, the number of students studying Hindi in various educational institutions of Kashmir was ever increasing and could be safely put at several thousands. Their number far exceeded the number of students studying other modern language. In the University of Kashmir more than ninety students received instruction in Post-Graduate courses in Hindi every year. As many as seventy persons were awarded Ph.D degree in Hindi by the University and many more were engaged in research work on various topics. It is noteworthy that the first Ladakhi to obtain the M.A. degree in Hindi, was produced by the Kashmir University in 1969. Besides, thousands of young Kashmiri Muslims had started taking the elementary Hindi courses, conducted by various voluntary organisations, in response to the increased economic social and cultural interaction with the Hindi belt of India. The influence of Hindi, its literature and its ethos

has been very strong on the Kashmiri society (both Hindu and Muslim) and the Hindi films have played a very significant role in this direction. It is certain that Hindi will regain its past glory as soon as the situation normalises in the valley.

REFERENCES

1. V.Gairola, *Sanskrit Sahitya ka Itihas*. Varanasi, Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series, 1960, p. 355.
2. (a) See Gurtu and Yaksha, *Sri Amreshwara Darshanam*. Srinagar, 1959.
(b) W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*. London, 1895. pp. 265-6.
3. See (a) John Christoph, *A Brief Notice on the language of Kashmir*. Berlin, 1906. p. 195.
(b) Buhler, *Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS*. Bombay, 1877. p. 183.
(c) Edgeworth, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kashmiri Language*. Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal, Vol X. 1841. p. 1039.
4. (a) See, Bilhana, *Vikramankadeva Charita*, Canto XVIII, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series, 1963.
(b) Buhler, *Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS*; Chapter 2: "On Kashmiri Language". Bombay, 1877. p. 83.
5. Nityanand Shastri and G. Grierson, *Language of Mahanaya Prakash*. *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, No. 2. 1918.
6. See *Banasur Katha* by Bhattavata (MS in the Library of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).
7. See, *Sukhdukha Charit* by Ganaka Prashasta (MS in the Library of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).
8. Buhler, *Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay 1877, Chapter 2.
9. See, *Vitasta* (Kashmiri Bhasha Visheshank) vol. X, No. 1, Ed. by R.K.Sharma. Hindi Parishad, Hindi Dept., Kashmir University, Srinagar, pp 21, 32-39, 109-110.
10. e.g. Kashmiri words: रून, चौथाइ, दीह and several others. See *Kashmir- itihas, sanskriti tatha lokgeet*. by Bimla Kumari Munshi. New Delhi, Arya Book Depot., 1993. pp. 31-38 (In Hindi).
11. e.g. Kashmiri words: निवि, कोर (for 'new') and several others. see *Ibid*.
12. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. VIII, Pt 2. Calcutta, 1919. p 242.
13. (a) R.K. Sharma, Ed., *Roopbhawani Rahasyopadesh*. Srinagar, Alkeshwari Trust, 1983.
(b) Keshav Bhatt Shastri, Ed., *Roop Bhawani Vakya*. Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1924.

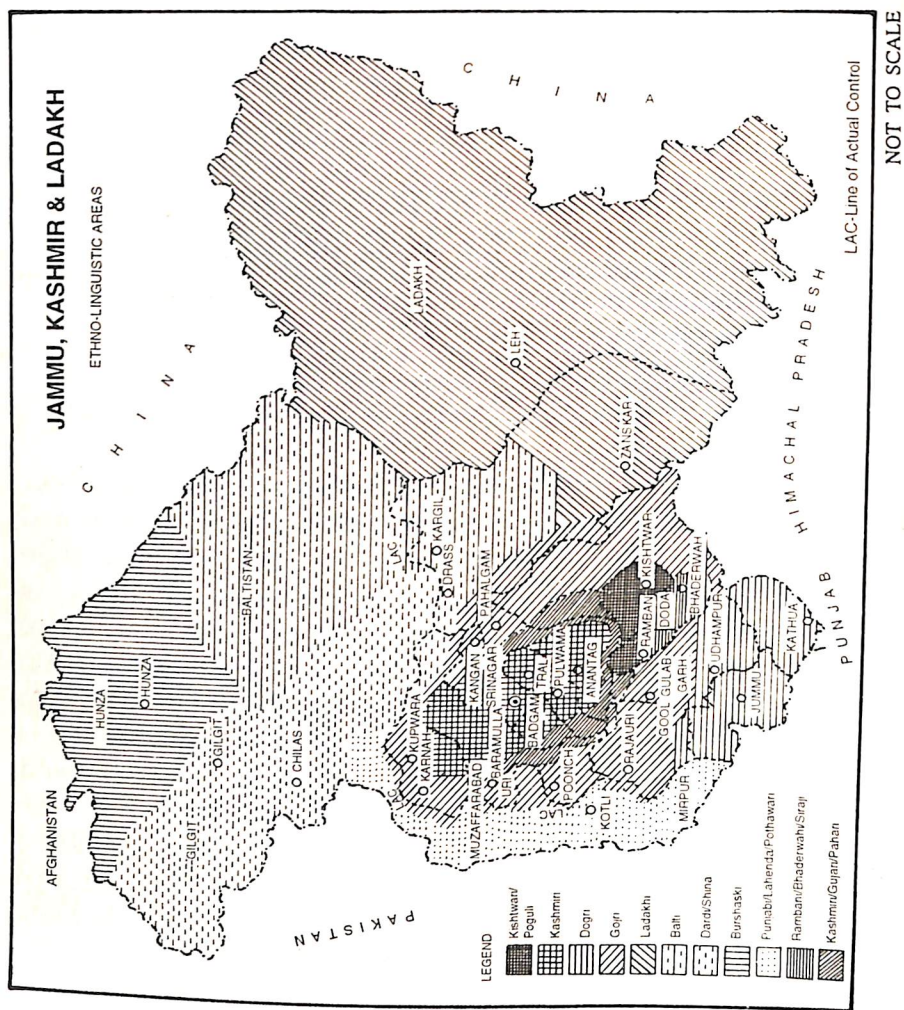
14. (a) Master Zinda Kaul, Ed., *Parmanand Sakti-sar*, Pt. I. Srinagar, 1941. pp. 82, 112, 123, 125, 145, 152.
(b) Niranjan Nath Raina, Ed., *Gyan Prakasha* (Complete works of Parmanand). Srinagar, Mercantile Press.
15. Books by Lakshamanjoo 'Bulbul' (a) *Nal Damayanti* (b) *Sam Nama* have been edited by Ghulam Nabi Kahayal and published by J&K Cultural Academy, 1965.
16. See, 'A poem in the Kashmiri Language' by Krishna Razdan, Edited by G.Grierson. *Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1913.
17. MSS in Research Library of the J&K Government, Srinagar Kashmir (era 1887)
18. *Krishnavatar* by Manji Suri Attar, 1924. Available in the Research Library of J & K Govt. Srinagar, Kashmir. First 10 pages are missing, hence it is not possible to give the name of the publisher.
19. See, *Amit Sagar* by Thakurjoo Manvati. In *Sharika Leela Sangraha* Srinagar, Chakreshwari Mandali.
20. See P.N. Razdan, *Kashmir mein Hindi*, Srinagar, 1970.

LANGUAGE AND POLITICS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR: ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

K. Warikoo

Language is the most powerful means of communication, vehicle of expression of cultural values and aspirations and instrument of conserving culture. As such language is an important means to acquire and preserve identity of a particular group or community. Language and culture are interrelated because the language regions possess certain homogeneity of culture and are characterised by common traits in history, folklore and literature. Among various cultural symbols—religion, race, language, traditions and customs, etc. that differentiate an ethnic group from the other, language is the most potent cultural marker providing for group identity. Its spatial spread over a fixed territory makes language more important than religion as a basis of ethnic identity formation.

In the emerging world order, when rise of ethno-nationalism is posing a major challenge to the nation state, political assertion of language or religious identities has assumed importance. However, events in Pakistan which was established in 1947 as an Islamic state on the basis of religious factor, have demonstrated the inherent conflict between language and religious identities. It was the language variable that led to the break-up of Pakistan in



1971 and the creation of a new independent nation-Bangladesh. Bengali language proved to be more powerful an ethnic factor than common Muslim identity. Similarly political manifestation of language rivalry has now gained primacy in the ongoing ethnic conflicts between Sindhis, Punjabis, Saraikis, Baluchis and Urdu speakers in Pakistan, even though all of them belong to the Muslim *Umma*. Ironically, it is religion rather than language that has been the key motivating and mobilising factor in the present secessionist movement in Kashmir. Yet there have been frequent though vague references by the political and intellectual elite to propose various solutions to the problems on the basis of 'Kashmiriat'. Since language and particularly mother tongue forms the core of this much publicised concept of 'Kashmiriat', this study has been undertaken to analyse the complex dynamics of language and politics in the multi-lingual state of Jammu and Kashmir. Often described as a three-storeyed edifice composed of three geographical divisions of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Baltistan, bound together by bonds of history and geography and linked together by a common destiny, Jammu and Kashmir State presents a classic case of linguistic and ethno-religious diversity.

Language Demography

An indepth and objective study of the language situation in Jammu and Kashmir State calls for an understanding of the language demography of the State which would indicate the spatial distribution of various linguistic groups and communities. This in turn reflects the variegated ethno-cultural mosaic of the State. The language and cultural areas are not only correlated but are generally specific to a particular area (See Map). For purposes of this study, J&K Census Reports of 1941, 1961, 1971 and 1981 have been relied upon¹. (No census has been carried out in the State in 1951 and 1991). The population of various linguistic groups as detailed in each of these Censuses, is given below in Tables 1 to 4.

Table 1
J&K : Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1941

Total Population of J&K, (1941 Census)= 40,21,616

<i>Language</i>	<i>J&K state</i>	<i>Kashmir Province</i>	<i>Jammu Province</i>	<i>Frontier Districts Ladakh*</i>	<i>Gilgit, Gilgit Agency, Astor etc.</i>
Kashmiri	15,49,460 ¹	13,69,537	1,78,390	1174	323
Punjabi (Dogri)	10,75,273 ²	73,473 ³	10,00,018	453	1329
Rajasthani (Gujari) ⁴	2,83,741	92,392	1,87,980	Nil	3369
Western Pahari ⁵	5,31,319	1,70,432 ⁶	3,60,870 ⁷	5	12
Hindustani ⁸ (Hindi & Urdu)	1,78,528	10,631	1,67,368	22	507
Lahnda (Pothwari)	82,993	8	82,975 ⁹	5	5
Balti	1,34,012	352	184	1,33,163	313
Ladakhi	46,953	230	299	46,420	4
Shina (Dardi)	84,604	7,888 ¹⁰	114	13,562	63,040 ¹¹
Burushaski ¹²	33,132	3	Nil	244	32,885
Tibetan	503	26	145	317	15

* Before independence, Skardo/Baltistan (now in Pak-occupied Kashmir/ Northern Areas) was a Tehsil of Ladakh District.

1. In the 1941 census, persons speaking Kishtwari (11,170), Siraji (17,617), Rambani (1,202), Poguli (5,812) and Banjwahi (747), totalling 36,548 persons have been included under the head Kashmiri.

2. Dogri has been taken as a dialect under Punjabi, thereby enumerating 4,13,754 Punjabi speaking persons mainly in Mirpur together with 6,59,995 Dogri speakers.

3. Out of this figure, 48,163 persons are from Muzaffarabad (now in POK).

4. Gujarati, the language of Gujaris has been included with Rajasthani.

5. Pahari, which is enumerated separately, is closely connected with Gujarati and is spoken in much the same areas.

6. Includes 1,55,595 persons in Muzaffarabad (now in POK).

7. Includes 2,36,713 persons in Poonch, Haveli, Mendhar.

8. Hindi and Urdu have been combined and enumerated as Hindustani.

9. Nearly all (82,887 persons) are concentrated in Mirpur.

10. Includes 7,785 persons in Baramulla (Gurez area).

11. Shina language is spoken chiefly in Gilgit area.

12. It is mainly spoken in Hunza, Nagar and Yasin.

Table 2
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1961

Total Population of J&K, (1961 Census) = 35,60,976

<i>Language</i>	<i>J&K State</i>	<i>Kashmir Province</i>	<i>Jammu Province</i>	<i>Ladakh District</i>
Kashmiri	18,96,149	17,17,259	1,78,281 (Mainly in Doda)	609
Dogri	8,69,199	1,784	8,67,201	214
Gojri	2,09,327	64,493	1,44,834	Nil
Ladakhi	49,950	79	42	49,829
Punjabi	1,09,174	32,866	76,308	Nil
Balti	33,458	514	38	32,905 (Mainly in Kargil)
Hindi	22,323	2,494	19,868	61
Urdu	12,445	3,504	8,941	Nil
Dardi/ Shina	7,854	7,605 (Mainly in Gurez area of Baramulla)	30	219
Tibetan	2,076	Nil	148	1,899

Table 3
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1971

Total population of J&K, (1971 Census) = 46,16,632

<i>Language</i>	<i>J&K State</i>	<i>Kashmir Division</i>	<i>Jammu Division</i>	<i>Ladakh Division</i>
Kashmiri	24,53,430	21,75,588	2,77,070	772
Dogri	11,39,259	8,161	11,30,845	253
Hindi* (Gujari)	6,95,375	1,80,837	5,14,177	361
Ladakhi	59,823	1,446	1,562	56,815
Punjabi	1,59,098	46,316	1,12,258	524
Lahanda (Pothwari)	22,003	109	21,894 (Mainly in Rajauri)	Nil
Urdu	12,740	4,521	8,209	10
Balti	40,135	822	280	39,033 (Mainly in Kargil)
Shina	10,274	9,276 (Mainly in Gurez area of Bramulla)	251	747
Tibetan	3,803	867	Nil	2,936

* Gujari, the language of Gujars has been included with Hindi.

Table 4
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1981

Total population of J&K, (1981 Census) = 59,87,389

<i>Language</i>	<i>J&K State</i>	<i>Kashmir Division</i>	<i>Jammu Division</i>	<i>Ladakh Division</i>
Kashmiri	31,33,146	28,06,441	3,28,229 (Mainly in Doda Dist.)	1,476
Dogri	14,54,441	2,943	14,51,329	169
Hindi* (Gujari)	10,12,808	2,55,310 (Mainly in Baramulla and Kupwara Districts)	7,67,344 (Mainly in Doda, Punch and Rajauri Districts)	155
Ladakhi	71,852	471	1,190	70,191
Punjabi	1,63,049	41,181	1,21,668	200
Lahanda (Pothwari)	13,184	21	13,163	Nil
Urdu	6,867	3,830	3,019	18
Balti	47,701	811	Nil	46,890 (Mainly in Kargil)
Shina (Dardi)	15,017	12,159 (Mainly in Gurez area of Baramulla)	Nil	2,858 (Mainly in Dah Hanu)
Tibetan	4,178	796 (Mainly in Srinagar)	Nil	3,382 (Mainly in Leh Tehsil)

* Gujari, the language of Gujars has been included with Hindi.

The people of J&K State, whether Kashmiris, Dogras, Gujars—Bakarwals, Ladakhis, Baltis, Dards, etc. have in all the censuses unambiguously identified their indigenous languages as their 'mother-tongues' thereby consolidating their respective ethno-linguistic and cultural identities. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the Muslims of the State have thus acted in a manner quite different from that of Muslims in most of the Indian states.

It is also in stark contrast to the experience in Punjab, where Hindus though speaking Punjabi at home earlier claimed Hindi as their mother tongue during the census operations. Similarly, the Muslims in various Indian States such as Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala etc. who registered local languages as their mother-tongues in 1951 Census, opted for Urdu in 1961 and afterwards, thereby leading to a dramatic rise in the number of Urdu speaking persons in India². Same is the case with the Muslims of Uttar Pradesh, who registered their language as Hindustani in 1951 Census, but have been claiming Urdu as their mother tongue subsequently³. This demonstrates the urge of the Muslims in other Indian states to identify themselves with Urdu rather than with Hindustani (the basic substratum of Hindi and Urdu, it does not have any communal and politicised connotation) or the indigenous mother tongues, in a bid to consolidate themselves as a distinct collective group linked together by common bond of religion and Urdu which they believe to be representing their Muslim cultural identity. Clearly these Muslims have moved away from regional towards the religious identity.⁴

It is precisely for avoiding any such communal polarisation between Hindus and Muslims on the issue of Hindi and Urdu languages, that the J&K State Census authorities decided in 1941 to club Hindi and Urdu together and use Hindustani. This, however, resulted in inflating the number of persons claiming Hindi and Urdu speakers to 1,78,528 (mostly in Jammu province). R.G. Wreford, the then Census Commissioner admits it in his report, saying

that "The figures for Hindustani are inflated as the result of the Urdu-Hindi controversy. Propaganda was carried on during the Census by the adherents of both parties to the dispute with the result that many Hindus gave Hindi as their mother tongue and many Muslims gave Urdu quite contrary to the facts in the great majority of cases. The dispute is largely political and so to keep politics out of the Census, it was decided to lump Hindi and Urdu together as Hindustani"⁵.

In the 1961, 1971 and 1981 censuses, usage of the term 'Hindustani' has been discarded in favour of separate enumeration for Hindi and Urdu speaking persons. The 1961 Census, which has treated Hindi and Gujarati language separately, (unlike the 1971 and 1981 censuses, where Gujarati is included into Hindi), should be taken as authentic base for calculating the number of persons claiming Hindi as their mother tongue. Yet there is no denying the fact that though respective mother tongues are spoken universally by various ethnic groups in their households or among themselves, the people of the State are generally bilingual or even trilingual in some cases. Thus if a Kashmiri uses his mother tongue within his group, he uses Urdu, Hindi or Hindustani in his conversation with the people from Jammu Province, Ladakh division and from the rest of India. Similarly, a Dogra would use Dogri within his group, Punjabi with his counterparts from Punjab and Delhi and Hindi or Hindustani with others. Ladakhis would use Ladakhi among themselves and Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani with others. English has also become popular, due to its common usage in administrative offices, trade, industry, and educational institutions.

The prevalence of Urdu as a link language is not only due to its being the official language, but also due to its popularisation through the publication of books, newspapers and periodicals in large numbers. Besides, the close socio-economic contacts between the people of the State and rest of India, plus the impact of tourism, modernisation and

educational development have contributed to the use of Urdu and Hindi in the State, in addition to the mother-tongues.

The Census Report of 1941 for Jammu and Kashmir, provides an insight into the language situation in the State before independence, i.e. before a large chunk of the State in Mirpur, Muzaffarabad and Frontier Districts (Baltistan, Astore, Gilgit etc.) was occupied by Pakistan in 1947-48. This area is now known as Pak-occupied Kashmir/Northern Areas. The 1941 Census has listed Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Western Pahari, Balti, Ladakhi, Shina/Dardi and Burushaski as the main languages, spoken in the State. The 1941 census has followed the general scheme of classification, whereby Dogri and Gujarati have been included as dialects under Punjabi and Rajasthani respectively, which is likely to create confusion to the non-discerning reader. However, the Census has provided a solution by indicating the actual number of Dogri and Punjabi speakers as 6,59,995 and 4,13,754 respectively⁶. Whereas the Dogri speakers were concentrated in Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua and Chenani Jagir districts, most of the Punjabi speakers were settled mainly in Mirpur and also in Muzaffarabad (48,163 persons)⁷. Similarly out of 82,993 Lahnda speakers (including those speaking Pothawri dialect), 82,887 persons were concentrated in Mirpur district.⁸

Gujari, the language of Gujars and Bakerwals (now declared as Scheduled Tribes), was included as a dialect under Rajasthani due to its close affinities with that language. But Pahari which is closely connected with Gujarati and continues to be spoken in much the same areas, was enumerated separately. Thus we have 2,83,741 Gujarati speakers and 5,31,319 Western Pahari speakers (including those speaking Bhadrawahi, Gaddi, Padari, Sarori dialects)⁹. Reasi, Jammu, Poonch, Haveli, Mandhar, Baramulla, Anantnag and Muzaffarabad districts were shown as the main concentration points of Gujarati and W.Pahari speakers, thereby testifying to their widespread distribution throughout

the State. The subsequent Census Reports of 1961, 1971 and 1981 have removed this anomaly of enumerating Gujar and Pahari separately. However, the Census reports of 1971 and 1981 have followed a new anomalous practice of including Gujar (Rajasthani), Bhadrawahi, Padri with Hindi. This has not only inflated the numbers of those claiming Hindi as their mother tongue but also camouflaged the actual strength of Gujar speakers, thereby causing disenchantment among this tribal community.

As most of these Hindi albeit Gujar speakers have been shown as concentrated in Baramulla, Kupwara, Punch, Rajouri and Doda districts, their Gujar identity becomes obvious. The 1961 census, which does not mix up Hindi with Gujar, puts the number of Gujar speakers at 2,09,327 and that of Hindi speakers at 22,323¹⁰. Urdu is placed next with only 12,445 persons claiming it their mother tongue.

Tables 1 to 4 make it amply clear that Kashmiri commands the largest number of speakers, with Dogri at second and Gujar at third positions respectively. The number of Punjabi speakers in 1961, 1971 and 1981 Census Reports, actually reflects the number of Sikhs who have maintained their language and culture, and who are concentrated mainly in Srinagar, Budgam, Tral, Baramulla (all in Kashmir Province), Udhampur and Jammu. In case of Ladakh, several ethno-linguistic identities emerge on the basis of mother tongue and area of settlement. Ladakhis (people of Buddhist dominated ladakh district and Zangskar) have claimed Ladakhi, popularly known as *Bodhi* as their mother tongue. Interestingly Tibetan language has been consistently identified as distinct language/mother tongue in all the Census Reports under review, and it is spoken by the small group of Tibetan refugees settled in Srinagar and Leh. As against this, the Shia Muslims of Kargil have claimed Balti, another dialect of Tibetan language. The Baltis of Kargil are separated by the Line of Actual Control from their ethno-linguistic brothers in Baltistan area of 'Northern Areas' in Pak-occupied Kashmir who also speak the same

Balti dialect. There are some Dardic speaking pockets in Gurez area of Baramulla in Kashmir, Dras and Da Hanu in Ladakh. The people of Hunza, Nagar and Yasin in the 'Northern Areas' of Pak-occupied Kashmir, speak the Burushaski language. The State of Jammu and Kashmir thus presents a classic case of linguistic and ethno-religious diversity.

Neglect of Mother Tongues

It is established that Kashmiri ranks first among the mother tongues of the State commanding the largest number of speakers, with Dogri in second and Gujari in third position, followed by Punjabi, Bodhi, Balti, Shina/Dardi in succession. Whereas Kashmiri has been included in the VIII schedule of the Constitution of India, the demands of similar treatment for Dogri and Bodhi are yet to be conceded. Conscious of the ethno-linguistic heterogeneity of the State, the 'New Kashmir' Programme adopted by the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference under the stewardship of Sheikh Abdulla as early as 1944, had envisaged the declaration of Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti, Dardi, Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu as the national languages of the State¹¹. Urdu was to be the 'lingua franca' of the State. It was also laid down that¹²:

"The state shall foster and encourage the growth and development of these languages, by every possible means, including the following:-

- (1) The establishment of State Language Academy, where scholars and grammarians shall work to develop the languages,
 - (a) by perfecting and providing scripts,
 - (b) by enriching them through foreign translations,
 - (c) by studying their history,
 - (c) by producing dictionaries and text books.
- (2) The founding of State scholarships for these languages.
- (3) The fostering of local press and publications in local languages."

The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has recognised

Urdu as the official language of the State, treating Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti, Dardi, Punjabi, Pahari and Ladakhi as regional languages. But the State Constitution has not taken cognizance of the need "to protect the right of minorities to conserve their distinctive language, script or culture; to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue, to the children of linguistic minorities", as has been explicitly provided in the Constitution of India in Articles 29,30 and 350.

What was laid down in the original manifesto of the National Conference, has been fulfilled only to the extent of setting up of the J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. Circumstantial evidence indicates that there has been an organised effort by the State political—bureaucratic elite to stifle the growth of Kashmiri language and other local mother tongues. It becomes obvious from the following facts:

- (i) Teaching of Kashmiri has not been introduced at the primary or secondary school levels in the State. Not only that, no textbooks in Kashmiri are available even though a set of such books was prepared by experts. The Post Graduate Department of Kashmiri has been created as a super structure without any ground support at the primary and secondary levels. This is despite the general desire among Kashmiri masses to have Kashmiri as a medium of instruction particularly at the primary and middle levels of education. This gets amply reflected in a survey, in which 83 per cent of the respondents showed their preference for use of Kashmiri as a medium of instruction at primary levels and 48 per cent preferred the same at middle level of education, whereas 49 per cent wanted to have English at high or higher secondary levels.¹³
- (ii) Notwithstanding the publication of hundreds of newspapers and periodicals mostly in Urdu and some in English, hardly any newspaper or periodical is

published in any local language in the State. The journal *Sheeraza*, which is brought out by the J&K Cultural Academy in Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujarati and Bodhi languages, has a limited circulation among the literary circles. Local masses have to rely exclusively on Urdu and English newspapers/periodicals published locally or coming from Punjab or Delhi, though the people of the Valley would like to have Kashmiri newspapers. A socio-linguistic survey in Kashmir revealed that 47 per cent of the respondents reported their preference for local newspapers in Kashmiri language¹⁴. J&K State is perhaps the only Indian state where local language press and publications are virtually absent.

- (ii) Usage of Urdu has received official patronage, it being the medium of instruction in primary and secondary levels. Persi-Arabic script has been adopted for Kashmiri language. The functional role of Kashmiri in the domain of written communication has been reduced to minimum, as all personal letters, official correspondence etc. are written in Urdu, English or Hindi languages¹⁵. The Sharda script, though indigenous to Kashmir, has been totally ignored. Not only that, the treasure of ancient MSS in the Sharda script is decaying in various libraries/archives in J&K State and needs immediate retrieval. Sharda script was used for preparing horoscopes, though its usage is now restricted to a few practicing Brahmins. With the result, this ancient tradition has gone into oblivion. Similarly, the demands of ethno-religious minority of Kashmiri Hindus, presently living in forced exile¹⁶, for adopting Devnagri as an alternate script for Kashmiri language have been ignored. With the result this sizeable minority of Kashmir, has not only been deprived of access to the rich fund of Kashmiri language and literature, but their right to preserve and promote their ancient cultural heritage has also

been denied. This is in clear contravention of the Article 29, 30 and 350 of Indian Constitution. On the other hand, the State government has adopted Persi-Arabic script as an alternate script for Dogri and Punjabi in addition to thereby displaying their motivated double standards. That Devngari script has been in prevalence for Kashmiri is obvious from the publication of several Kashmiri books/journals in this script. Not only that, Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir while conceding the demands of both the Hindu and Muslim Communities, issued orders in late 1940 allowing the usage of both Persian and Davnagri scripts in schools, even while the common medium of instruction would be simple Urdu¹⁷. Students were given the option of choosing either of the two scripts for reading and writing.¹⁸

- (iv) During the past two decades or so, there have been organised efforts by the Islamic fundamentalist social, cultural and political organisations, often receiving assistance from foreign Muslim countries, to saturate the Kashmiri language and culture with aggressive revivalistic overtones. It is not a mere coincidence that all the names of various militant organisations in Kashmir, titles of office-bearers, their slogans and literature are in the highly Persianised-Arabicised form. Similarly, names of hundreds of villages and towns in Kashmir were changed from ancient indigenous Sanskrit form to Persian/Islamic names, by the State government. To quote a Kashmiri writer, "Language was subverted through substitution of Pan-Islamic morphology and taxonomy for the Kashmiri one. Perfectly Islamic person names like Ghulam Mohammed, Ghulam Hassan, Abdul Aziz, Ghulam Rasool which were abundantly common in Kashmir were substituted by double decker names which were indistinguishable from Pakistani and Afghan names"¹⁹. In this manner linguistic and cultural subversion was

carried out to "subsume the Kashmiri identity of Kashmir by a Pan-Islamic identity" after "tampering with the racial and historical memory of an ethnic sub-nationality through a Pan-Islamic ideal"²⁰. Kashmir was thus projected as "an un-annexed Islamic enclave" which should secede from the secular and democratic India.

- (v) Films Division of the Government of India, which used to dub films in 13 Indian languages including Kashmiri for exhibition among the local masses, stopped doing so at the instance of the State administration. They were instead asked to do it in simple Urdu.
- (vi) That the State bureaucracy even foiled the attempts by Progress Publishers, Moscow, to start translation and publication of Russian classics in Kashmir, is established by the following information provided to this author by Raisa Tugasheva who was actively associated with this programme.

"It was in 1972 that the Progress Publishers, Moscow (successor to Foreign Language Publishing House which published in 13 languages) decided to start publication of Kashmiri translations of Russian literature. Some Urdu knowing scholars were recruited for the task. Ms. Raisa Tugasheva (who had worked as Urdu announcer at Tashkent Radio for twenty years) was made Head and Editor-in-Chief of the Kashmiri Section of Progress Publishers. Besides two Assistant editors and one Kashmiri Muslim student at Moscow were associated with the Project. At the first instance, a few books of Russian literature were taken up and later translated into Kashmiri. One assistant editor Lena was sent to Kashmir for further study. When a delegation of Progress Publishers visited Kashmir to survey the potential and prospects of

circulation of these books, their proposal met with a hostile State government response. It was found that the State administrative machinery was against publication and circulation of Kashmiri translations of Russian books. With the result the whole project was quietly wound up”.

- (vii) Central government grants provided to the State Education Department from time to time for development of Kashmiri language and literature have either been spent on other heads or allowed to lapse. Similarly the 100 per cent financial assistance provided by the centre for translation of Constitution of India into Kashmiri was not availed of. Instead these funds were diverted to promotion of Urdu which was misleadingly projected as the regional language of the State.
- (viii) Dogri which is spoken in Jammu region and the adjoining areas of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, has been recognised as one of the regional languages in the VI Schedule of the State's Constitution. Though the Sahitya Academy started giving its awards for Dogri in 1970, the people of Jammu have been demanding inclusion of Dogri in the VIII Schedule of Constitution of India. When in mid-1992 the Central government was taking steps to include Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri in the VIII Schedule, the Dogri Sangharsh Morcha started a movement in Jammu pressing for acceptance of their demand. Though the matter was raised in Parliament, nothing happened. The Jammu people point to the rich literary heritage of Dogri, its wide prevalence in J&K, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab and also the usage of easy Devnagri script for this language, and their contribution to maintain national integrity, as sufficient grounds for inclusion of Dogri in the VIII Schedule²¹. They are peeved at the discriminatory attitude of the Central government in not accepting their demand

which they allege to be under the political interference of the Kashmiri politicians.

- (ix) In Ladakh too Urdu was imposed as a medium of instruction, though the majority of people there speak and write Ladakhi (Bodhi), a dialect of Tibetan and which has a script of its own. It was during the latter years of Dogra rule that Urdu was introduced as the official language throughout the State including Ladakh. Even at that time the Ladakhi Buddhists had resented the 'infliction of Urdu' as a medium of instruction in primary schools. The report of the Kashmir-Raj Bodhi Maha Sabha, Srinagar (1935) provides an insight into the sharp reaction evoked by this practice among the local people. It states:²²

"The infliction of Urdu-to them a completely foreign tongue-on the Ladakh Buddhists as a medium of instruction in the primary stage is a pedagogical atrocity which accounts, in large measure for their aversion to going to school. Nowhere in the world are boys in the primary stage taught through the medium of a foreign tongue. And so, the Buddhist boy whose mother tongue is Tibetan must struggle with the complications of the Urdu script and acquire a knowledge of this alien tongue in order to learn the rudiments of Arithmetic, Geography, and what not.... This deplorable and irrational practice is being upheld in face of the fact that printed text books for all Primary school subjects do exist in Tibetan and have been utilized with good results by the Moravian Mission at Leh".

Ironically even after the end of Dogra Raj, Urdu continues to be the medium of instruction. Though Ladakhi and Arabic have also been introduced in government schools alongwith English, private Islamic schools teach Urdu and Arabic only. This educational policy has led to building

up of segmented religious identities as against a secular one, thereby polarising the traditional and tolerant Ladakhi society on communal lines.

- (x) Instead of recognising Gujarī, the mother tongue of more than six lakh Gujar, the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has included Pahari, as one of the regional languages in its VI schedule. This anomalous situation is a result of the impression that Gujarī is part of Pahari, though it is actually more akin to Rajasthani. And the Census of 1941 has included Gujarī under Rajasthani. Whereas the subsequent Censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981 have not mentioned Pahari at all. This is one of the contributory factors that have led to the Gujarī-Pahari controversy, which has been explained in the following pages. Gujar of Jammu and Kashmir have been demanding their identification and enumeration by the Census authorities on the basis of their tribal rather than linguistic identity, so as to avoid overlapping with the Paharis and the consequent underestimation of their population.
- (xi) Balti, a dialect of the Tibetan language, used to be written in the Tibetan script before the advent of Islam in Baltistan in the sixteenth century. Numerous rock inscriptions which still exist in Baltistan (in Pak-occupied Kashmir), are a living testimony to this fact. Following the conversion of Baltis to Islam, indigenous Tibetan script for Balti language was discarded "as profane"²³. Instead, Persian script was introduced even though it did not "suit the language due to certain phonological differences"²⁴. But after Baltistan was occupied by Pakistan in 1948, Urdu has prevailed in the area. With the result the indigenous Balti language has been further weakened due to heavy influence of Persian and Urdu. The same is true of Baltis living in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. Baltis in Pakistan are deeply disturbed over

the loss of their inherited culture, particularly during the past two decades due to "onslaught of religious fanaticism"²⁵. This change is ascribed to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, following which Maulvis flush with money entered the area and banned singing, dancing and all forms of traditional cultural activities²⁶. Interestingly, the Shia Muslims in the Kargil area of Ladakh, who too speak the Balti language and share same culture with Baltis of Baltistan, have been subjected to similar change. They have been allowed to be swayed under the pernicious influence of Mullahs and *Mujtahids*, most of whom receive theological training and support from Iran.

These *mujtahids*, have stripped the festivals and ceremonies in Kargil of their traditional music and fanfare. The traditional musicians-Doms, who used to play drums and wind pipe instruments on all festive occasions, have been rendered jobless. This situation has resulted in the destruction of rich folk, linguistic, literary and cultural heritage of Baltis. The only saving grace is that most of the Balti folk literature is still preserved in the oral unwritten tradition. Besides, there is an organised effort inside Pak-occupied Baltistan, by Balti intellectuals led by Syed Abbas Kazmi to revive the Balti heritage including its Tibetan script. The Baltistan Research Centre, Skardo is doing a commendable job on this subject. Similar efforts need to be initiated by J&K Cultural Academy inside Kargil area.

Foregoing discussion of the state of affairs of mother tongues in Jammu and Kashmir State, throws up important political issues. It becomes clear that despite the local urge to preserve and promote their mother tongues, whether it is Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujari, Bōdhi or Balti, the same have been denied their due place. This has been done as part of the calculated policy of the Muslim bureaucracy and political leadership to subvert the indigenous linguistic and ethno-cultural identities which inherit a composite cultural heritage. Thus a supra national Muslim identity has been

sought to be imposed in different regions of the State, which essentially are different language and culture areas. Simultaneously a whispering campaign was launched in Kashmir alleging the central government's apathy towards Kashmiri language, which is, however, belied by facts. Apart from inclusion of Kashmiri in the VIII Schedule, Sahitya Academy has been giving awards²⁷ for Kashmiri right from 1956 though it started doing so for Dogri only in 1970. What is needed now is to remove the existing imbalances and introduce Sahitya Academy awards for Gujar, Ladakhi (Bodhi) and Balti, besides officially recognising Devnagari as alternate script for Kashmiri.

CONCLUSION

The language geography of the State has changed after 1947 when a large chunk of the State was occupied by Pakistan, what is now known as Pak-occupied Kashmir/Northern Areas. The new ground situation is that all the Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujar and Ladakhi speaking areas falls within the Northern Areas. Yet some small pockets of Dardi speaking people-Buddhist Brukpas in Da Hanu area of Ladakh, people of Dras (Ladakh) and Gurez (Baramulla) lie within the Indian part of Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly, all the Pothawri (Lahanda) speaking areas in Poonch, Mirpur etc. remain within the Pak-occupied Kashmir. As regards the Baltis, they are divided between those living in Kargil in Indian Ladakh and across the Line of Actual Control in Baltistan (Northern Areas). From within the Kashmiri speaking community, the entire Kashmiri Hindu minority of more than three lakhs has been forced out of the valley in 1980-90 by the Islamist militants. Thus this significant and indigenous minority community has been deprived of its ancient habitat and language culture area in the Kashmir valley. Given the precarious condition of these displaced persons living in forced exile in various parts of India and

struggling for survival, their language and culture are likely to be the worst casualty of their ethnic-religious cleansing. The question of resettlement of this displaced minority in their ancient birthland in a manner that ensures their ethnic-linguistic and territorial homogeneity and adequate constitutional/administrative safeguards for protection of their human rights, is directly linked to the permanent solution of the Kashmir imbroglio.

A study of the language demography of Jammu and Kashmir State establishes the fact that the Lahnda (Pothwari) speaking area falls almost entirely across the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Pak-occupied Kashmir. That the LAC on the western side coincides with the specific language culture area, provides a natural permanence to the Line of Actual Control on ethno-linguistic lines in this sector. This should provide a key to finding lasting solution to vexed Kashmir problem between India and Pakistan. However, this is not true of Balti speaking area, which remains divided by the Line of Actual Control between Kargil area of Jammu and Kashmir in India and Baltistan region of Pak-occupied Kashmir. That there is a renewed urge among the Baltis in Pak-occupied Kashmir to revive their ancient Balti language and heritage only demonstrates their cultural roots in Ladakh.

Regarding the evolution and affinities of various mother tongues in Jammu and Kashmir, it is established that most of the languages are rooted in or have close affinities with the Indo-Aryan languages. Whereas Dogri is closely related to Punjabi, Gujari is akin to Rajasthani. Grierson's theory of Kashmiri belonging to the Dardic branch of languages has been disputed by the insider view emanating from Kashmir and elsewhere. Most of the linguistic researches conducted in Kashmir during the past forty years²⁸, have established that Kashmiri bears close resemblance to Sanskritic languages, thereby testifying to the close civilisational contacts and ties between Kashmir and India since ancient times. Grierson who has misleadingly adopted

the religious distinction between 'Hindu Kashmiri' and 'Muslim Kashmiri' has actually followed the colonial approach towards non-European societies. Ironically Grierson's theory has been used as premier by an American geographer, J.E. Schwartzberg has advocated the merger of Kashmir valley with the Dardic speaking areas of Pak-occupied Kashmir on the basis of linguistic and cultural affinity²⁹. Grierson's theory has since been disputed. Besides, the fact remains that the people of Kashmir valley are not only linguistically different from those living across the Line of Control in Pak-occupied Kashmir, but also have different cultural moorings and social ethos. Though Ladakhi and Balti belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages, the presence of Sanskritic impact among the Garkuns of Ladakh is a living example of the extent of Indian cultural presence in this remote area. Given the importance of the subject, it is incumbent upon the linguists and anthropologists in India to unravel the mysteries of evolution and affinities of various mother tongues of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the broader context of race movement and civilisational evolution in north and north western India.

Kashmiri is the main language spoken in the State, its spatial distribution being limited to the central valley of Kashmir and some parts of Doda. Though Kashmiri has no 'functional role as a written language' now, it is "overwhelmingly the language of personal and in-group communication. It is the medium of dreams, mental arithmetic and reflection, of communication within the family, with friends and in market places, in places of worship etc."³⁰ According to a survey, the Kashmiris view their language as "an integral part of their identity" and want it to be accorded its due role in the fields of education, mass-media and administration³¹. The neglect of mothertongues by the State is the most salient language issue in Jammu and Kashmir, and the earlier it is remedied, the better. However, the only silver lining is that both Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims have identified Kashmiri as their mother tongue.

Though Pahari has not been enumerated as a separate language in the J&K State Census Reports of 1961, 1971 and 1981, of late there have been demands for grant of some concessions to 'Paharis' in the State. The Pahari versus Gujar issue is a potential source of ethnic conflict as both the Pahari and Gujar interests are in conflict with each other. Both the Pahari and Gujar identities overlap in certain aspects particularly their hill settlement pattern and some common language features. The grant of Scheduled Tribe status on 19th April 1991 by the central government, entitles the Gujars-the third largest community in the State, to preferential treatment in government services, educational, professional and technical education etc. Gujars also claim proportionate representation in the State Assembly. The non-Gujar Muslims of the State have been peeved at the conferment of Scheduled Tribe status and its benefits to the Gujars. They have now demanded similar concession and the privileges associated with it for the 'Paharis' of Rajouri, Poonch, Kupwara and Baramulla districts, i.e., where the Gujars are in sizeable numbers. The central government decision to meet the demand of Gujars has also evoked some reaction from the local press³². The new 'Pahari' demand has been backed by the valley dominated political and bureaucratic Muslim elite, which has succeeded in persuading the State Governor to take a few steps in this direction. On 17 May 1992, the non-Gujar 'Pahari Board' was set up, with eight Kashmiri Muslims, eight Rajput Muslims, two Syeds and four non-Muslims as its members. On 18 December 1993, the State Governor, General K. V. Krishna Rao issued a statement urging the central government to declare the Paharis as Scheduled Tribes.

Obviously, the J&K State administration is trying to construct new identities such as 'Paharis', in a bid to undermine the Gujars and their ethno-linguistic identity in the areas where they are dominant. That is why the demands of 'Paharis' of Rajouri, Poonch, Kupwara and Baramulla, (where Gujars are concentrated) are raised,

whereas the backward and neglected hill people of Ramban, Kishtwar, Padar and Bhadarwah, who speak distinct dialects of Rambani, Kishtwari, Padari and Bhadarwahi, have been excluded from the purview of the so called 'Pahari'. This is a subtle move to deprive the Gujars of their numerical advantage and fully marginalise them in the political, administrative and other institutional structures of the State.

The existing spatial distribution of Gujar speakers, does provide some sort of linguistic territorial homogeneity, which however, needs to be further consolidated to help in preservation and promotion of Gujar language and ethno-cultural heritage and fulfilling their socio-economic and political aspirations within the State. Inclusion of Gujar as one of the regional languages in the VI schedule of state's Constitution and the Sahitya Academy awards for Gujar writers, are basic steps that need to be taken urgently.

That the Gujars are concentrated in specific border belts surrounding the main Kashmiri speaking area, which mostly fall within the Indian side of Line of Actual Control, is yet another aspect of political importance. It is not only a physical obstacle in the way of attaining the goals of the ongoing secessionist movement based on Pan-Islamic-Kashmiri identities, it also demonstrates that barring some possible minor adjustments here and there, the present LAC provides the best possible solution to the Kashmir problem.

As already stated, all the Census reports have made a clear distinction between the Ladakhi (Bhotia) and Tibetan speaking persons in Ladakh, former being indigenous Ladakhis and the latter being Tibetan refugee settlers. Interestingly, various political activist groups such as "Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet", "Himalayan Buddhist Cultural Association", "Tibet Sangharsh Samiti" etc. which have been spearheading in India the campaign for Tibet's independence, and have opened their branches in various Himalayan States of India, have been demanding the inclusion of Bhotia language in the VIII Schedule of

the Indian Constitution. At the same time, there have been sustained efforts by the Tibetan scholars at Dharamshala or abroad, towards preparing a unified system of Tibetan language so that the same script, dialect etc. is applied to all the Bhotia/Tibetan speaking peoples whether in Indian Himalayas or elsewhere. This raises the question of Tibetanisation of society, culture and politics of the Indian Himalayas particularly in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Kalimpong, Darjeeling etc. It has been noticed that Tibetan refugees living in these areas never use local dialect and seek to exercise their cultural hegemony over the local Buddhist inhabitants. Due to divergent modes of economic activity being followed by the Tibetan refugees and the indigenous Buddhists in this Himalayan region, the former being engaged in marketing and industrial activities and the latter being involved in primary agrarian economy, there have been social conflicts between these two culturally similar groups with the locals viewing the Tibetan refugees as exploiters. Such a conflict has been experienced in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh etc. It becomes imperative for the concerned government and non-government agencies to ensure that the indigenous Bhotia/Ladakhi and even Balti ethno-linguistic heritage is preserved and promoted.

State government's policy towards local mother tongues including Kashmiri, reflects the political dynamics of Muslim majoritarianism, in which supra-national religious ethnicity has been artificially superimposed over the linguistic ethnicity. This has been done with the object of bringing Kashmiri Muslims closer to the Muslim *Ummah* in the subcontinent, and particularly with the adjoining Islamic State of Pakistan. This task has been carried forward by numerous Islamic political, social and cultural institutions particularly the Jamat-i-Islami, Ahl-e-Hadis, Anjuman Tableegh-i-Islam etc. and the *madrasahs* or even public schools run by these organisations, all of which have been preaching and promoting Islamic world view both in political, social and

cultural affairs. With the result a firm ideological base has been prepared to mould the political and cultural views of Kashmiri Muslims on religious lines rather than ethno-linguistic/cultural basis, thereby negating the indigenous secular and composite cultural heritage. The same thing has happened in Pak-Occupied Kashmir (including Northern Areas), where Urdu—the national language of Pakistan, has been imposed and popularised, and local mother tongues—Pothwari, Khowar, Burushaski, Dardi/Shina and Balti remain neglected. Whereas adoption of such a policy by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is understandable, it is quite ironical and unthinkable as to how such a state of affairs has been allowed in Jammu and Kashmir State, part of the secular and democratic Republic of India which has otherwise provided specific constitutional safeguards for promotion of mother-tongues and protection of rights of linguistic and cultural minorities.

It is surprising that the neglect of Kashmiri has never been a theme of unrest and anti-Indian movement in Kashmir. It is mainly because the Kashmiri Muslims have been swayed by their intellectual elite and political leaders of all hues (whether in power or out of it), most of whom have been educated at the Aligarh Muslim University, thereby imbibing the spirit of Aligarh movement which regards Urdu as the symbol of Muslim cultural identity. This policy is derived from the Muslim League strategy adopted so successfully by M.A. Jinnah, "for political mobilization of the Muslim Community around the symbols of Muslim identification-Islam, Urdu and the new slogan of Pakistan³³". that explains why primacy has been given to Islam instead of language, thereby consolidating the religious divide between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus who otherwise inherit same language, habitat and way of life. True spirit of Kashmiriat can be restored only after giving rightful place to the indigenous Kashmiri language and culture. Besides steps need to be taken to promote other mother tongues of the state—Dogri, Gujari, Bodhi (Ladakhi)

and Balti. Whereas the case of Dogri for inclusion in VIII Schedule of Constitution of India needs to be considered favourably, Sahitya Academy should give awards for literary works in Gujari and Bodhi as is done by it for Maithili and Rajasthani which are not listed in the VIII Schedule. Devnagri should be recognised as alternate script for Kashmiri language which will meet the long standing demand of the sizeable ethno-religious minority of Kashmiri Hindus. The Linguistic Survey of India and the Census Commissioner of India need to review Grierson's classification and evolve a suitable enumeration code and proper classification marks for various languages and mothertongues prevalent in Jammu and Kashmir, so that the linguistic and cultural aspirations of numerous ethnic-linguistic groups in the State are duly reflected and protected.

REFERENCES

- 1 *Census of India, 1941. Vol XXII Jammu and Kashmir. Parts I and II.* By R.G. Wreford. Jammu, 1943. pp. 302-35.
Census of India, 1971. Jammu and Kashmir. Part II C (Cultural & Migration Tables). By M.H. Kamili. Srinagar, 1965. pp. 207-267.
Census of India, 1971. Jammu and Kashmir. Series 8 (Part II-CC II)—Social and Cultural Tables by J.N. Zutshi. pp. 101-133.
Census of India, 1981. Jammu and Kashmir. Paper 1 of 1987 (Households and household population by language). By A.H. Khan. New Delhi, 1987.
- 2 Ashish Bose, Some Aspects of the Linguistic Demography of India. In "*Language and Society in India: Proceedings of a Seminar*". Simla, IAS, 1969. pp. 37-51.
- 3 *Ibid.*
 See also Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in Northern India*. Delhi, 1974, pp. 119-274.
- 4 L. Khubchandani, Language Policy for a Plural Society. In "Satish Saberwal, Ed. *Towards a Cultural Policy*". Delhi, 1975. p. 101.
- 5 *Census of India, 1941: Jammu and Kashmir. Parts I and II.* Jammu, 1943. p. 39.
- 6 *Ibid.* p.331.

- 7 Ibid. p.307.
- 8 Ibid. p. 309.
- 9 Ibid. pp. 307-8.
- 10 *Census of India, 1971. Jammu and Kashmir. Part II C (Cultural & Migration Tables). By M.H. Kamili. Srinagar, 1965. pp. 207-267.*
- 11 *New Kashmir. (Foreword by S.M. Abdullah). New Delhi. p21.*
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 For further details see Omkar N. Kaul and Ruth Laila Schmidt, *Kashmiri: a socio-linguistic Survey*, Patiala, Indian Institute of Language Studies, 1983. pp 53-54.
- 14 See Ibid pp 66-67.
- 15 Ibid p. 63.
- 16 For full text of a Memorandum by VIKALPA (Forum of Emigree Kashmiri Writers) see Appendix A,
- 17 *Census of India, 1941. Vol. XXII-Jammu and Kashmir. p. 39.*
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Shanti Veer Kaul, Memory-Counter Memory. *Trumpet*, N.Delhi. 1 September 1995. p. 6.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 For further details see text of Memorandum dated 6 July 1992, by Dograi Sangharsh Morcha at Appendix B.
- 22 *The Triennial Report of Kashmir Raj Bodhi Maha Sabha. Srinagar, 1935. p.11.*
- 23 The Lost Word. *The Herald*, Karachi September 1994. p. 80.
- 24 See interview by Syed Abbas Kazmi in Ibid.
- 25 See Zaighan Khan, the Lost Horizon. *The Herald*, Karachi September 1994. pp. 78-80.
- 26 Ibid
- 27 For details of Sahitya Academi awards for Kashmiri and Dogri see Appendices C and D.
- 28 See for further details
T.N. Ganjoo, *Origin and Development of Kashmiri Language*. University of Kashmir. (Ph.D. Thesis)
T.N. Ganjoo, Linguistic Sociology of Ancient Kashmir. *Studies of Kashmir Council of Research*, vol. 2, November 1977. pp. 24-33.
T.N. Ganjoo, Kashri Zaban-i-mutalaq akh nov soch (New perspective on Kashmiri Language). (In Kashmiri). *Anhaar*, Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir. Vol. 1, No. 1, 1977. pp 7-35.
B.N. Kalla, Kashri Zaban-i-manz Vedic zaban hand ansar. (Elements of Vedic language in Kashmiri). (In Kashmiri). *Anhaar* Vol 1, No. 1, 1977. pp. 49-62.
- 29 See J.E. Schwartzberg's *Proposal for a Peaceful Resolution of the Indo-Pakistani Dispute over Kashmir*.

- 30 Omar N. Kaul and Ruth Laila Schmidt, *Kashmiri: A Sociolinguistic Survey*. Patiala, 1983. p. 67.
- 31 Ibid. pp. 64-65, 68.
- 32 See *Greater Kashmir*, Srinagar 18 August 1993. *Kashmir Times*, Jammu 26 January 1994.
- 33 Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in Northern India*. Delhi, 1974. p. 180.

APPENDIX A

**Memorandum by VIKALPA (Forum of Emigree
Kashmiri Writers)**

ADOPTION AND RECOGNITION OF DEVNAGRI AS AN ALTERNATIVE SCRIPT FOR KASHMIRI LANGUAGE

As everyone knows, one of the prime targets of terrorism in Kashmir has been the Kashmiri ethos or the peculiar Kashmiri sense of values and ideals as represented by Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din and nurtured over the centuries by the saints and the Sufis. With the Kalashnikov culture penetrating every walk of life in Kashmir and terrorists calling all the shots, all literary activity, and, in fact every form of creativity, has been abruptly disrupted, resulting in a stunning silence that has continued for the last three years. One of the most tragic dimensions of the situation is that non-Muslim Kashmiri writers and intellectuals—the whole lot of them and perhaps a few Muslim writers too—have been forced by fundamentalist Muslim insurgents to flee their homes in the Valley together with their entire community. Cut off from their natural soil, these writers are struggling today to save their identity as well as their language as a relevant medium of expression.

In such circumstances, challenges have to be faced squarely and crucial decisions taken without any delusions, for one false step can spell disaster for a culture in exile. It is in this context that the question of adopting Devnagri

as an alternative script for Kashmiri has assumed supreme importance. The officially recognised Perso-Arabic script was adopted as a compromise to placate Muslim sentiment at the cost of the age old indigenous Sharda script. But this script is no longer suitable in the situation that has emerged, particularly when it will be the diaspora Kashmiris who will form the main audience of the displaced Kashmiri writers in the years to come. Not only is the Perso-Arabic script defective and incapable of rendering Kashmiri sounds correctly, but it is also solely dependent on scribes and calligraphers—a fast dwindling tribe which is likely to become extinct soon even in the Valley. This script, it must be pointed out, has failed to take advantage of even elementary typography, not to speak of advanced technology in the field, with the net result that the number of books published in Kashmiri has been decreasing year after year in direct proportion to the decreasing number of calligraphers.

The adoption of Perso-Arabic script for Kashmiri has deprived most of the non-Muslim Kashmiris, especially womenfolk, of the readership of Kashmiri literature, old and new. To benefit this vast section of Kashmiri-speaking people, both inside the Valley and outside, a demand was raised in some quarters for allowing the use of Devnagri as an alternative script, but it was met with stiff opposition from fanatical elements among supporters of the Perso-Arabic script on grounds more religious than academic. Strangely, however, these very elements pressed for and succeeded in getting Persian adopted as an alternative script for Dogri and Punjabi in addition to the officially accepted Devnagri and Gurmukhi scripts just to appease a handful of people reluctant to learn the Devnagri or Gurmukhi scripts.

With the onset of the present militancy, none among the known or unknown Kashmiri writers living in the valley has been able to come out with anything in print. The reason for this may be the fear of the terrorists and fundamentalists

to a great extent. But non-availability of skilled calligraphers has also been an important factor.

Paradoxically, it is in areas outside Kashmir Valley where writing in Kashmiri is going on at present. Apart from well known Kashmiri writers who have been forced to migrate from Kashmir, some young and up-coming Kashmiri writers have also appeared on the scene.

Devnagri, in fact, has been in use for writing Kashmiri for a long time now, not only by Kashmiris settled outside the valley during the earlier exoduses, but in the valley itself. Among its prominent protagonists have been people like Pandit Ishwar Kaul who wrote the first Kashmiri grammar and compiled the first Kashmiri dictionary (subsequently edited by Grierson). Professor S.K. Toshakhani who wrote the first Kashmiri novel besides several text books in the script for use in the schools run by the Women's Welfare Trust, and the renowned Kashmiri poet Master Zinda Kaul who was the first Kashmiri writer to have bagged the Sahitya Akademi award. The first Kashmiri drama by Pandit Nand Lal Kaul and the Kashmiri Ramayana as also several other Kashmiri classics have already appeared in the Devnagri script catering to a substantially large readership.

Considering the issue in all its aspects, this forum of displaced Kashmiri writers, VIKALPA, has come to the conclusion that it is high time that Devnagri was adopted as an alternative script for Kashmiri as a practical necessity dictated by the times and also with a view, to preserving the cultural identity of diaspora Kashmiris of which Kashmiri language forms the most important and inseparable part. To pursue this objective VIKALPA feels it necessary to raise its voice for the fulfilment of the following demands:

- 1 Recognition of Devnagri as an alternative script for Kashmiri by the State and Central Governments, State and Central Academies, Universities and other official/semi-official bodies.
- 2 Kashmiri books and manuscripts written in Devnagri script should also be considered by the State and

- Central Academies for grant of awards, prizes and financial assistance on the basis of their literary merit.
- 3 In keeping with its policy of encouraging use of Devnagri script for other regional languages also, the central government should provide liberal financial assistance to institutions/individuals who will undertake the task of transcribing Kashmiri classics (old and new) into Devnagri script.

APPENDIX B

(Memorandum by Dogri Sangharsh Morcha, Jammu dated July 6, 1992 for inclusion of Dogri Language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India.)

The Hon'ble Prime Minister
Home Minister
Members of the Union Cabinet,
Members of Parliament, and
Leaders of Political Parties.

We, the members of the Dogri Sangharsh Morcha, were happy to know from the press reports that your Government has decided to include Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri languages in the VIII Schedule of the country's Constitution. But it is most surprising and shocking that the decades old demand of 50 lakh Dogras for the same seems to have been overlooked.

We crave your indulgence to consider the following points which justify our legitimate demand:

1. Dogri language has already been recognised as one of the official languages of Jammu and Kashmir in the State's Constitution along with Urdu, Kashmiri and Ladakhi.
2. Dogri is not only spoken by the people of Jammu region but also a sizable population of the present Himachal Pradesh and Punjab
3. Dogri has since 1969 been recognised by the Sahitya Akademi which has already honoured 22 of its literateurs, thereby recognizing the rich literary heritage of the Dogras.
4. Dogri culture and rich art heritage are reflected in the Basohli and Kangra schools of Miniature Paintings and Terracottas of Ambaran (Akhnoor) which are famous and are found in museums all over the world.
5. Dogri language has its own grammar, dictionary and books on its own history.

6. It was recognition of the impact and reach of Dogri language over a vast area that the Government of India thought it fit to start news bulletins in this language from All India Radio immediately after Pakistan's attack on J&K State in 1947.
7. Dogri is being taught in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at Secondary and Senior Secondary School level, and up to Post Graduate level at the Jammu University.
8. The Dogras have sacrificed their lives and property for the defence of India. The Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) and Dogra Regiments of the Indian Army have brought glory to the country, have proved their bravery and chivalry in the two World Wars and the four Wars free India had to fight in 1947, 1962, 1965 and 1971.
9. It is the Dogri speaking region which has had to bear the brunt of these wars. Thousands of refugees from Pakistani Punjab and the Pak-Occupied areas of the State have been accommodated in the Jammu region. Even the Dogra refugees from the Chhamb Sector (handed over to Pakistan after 1971 war) have also poured into Jammu and are still awaiting rehabilitation.
10. In return for all their sacrifices, all that the Dogras demand is the fulfilment of their foremost democratic aspiration—the preservation and promotion of their linguistic and cultural identity. This can only be done by acceding to their most legitimate demand of accepting their language, Dogri, as a national language at par with the others included in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution.
11. Over the years many Private Members' Bills have been moved, questions raised and special mentions made in both the Houses of Parliament for including Dogri in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution.
12. The Dogri Sangharsh Morcha, spearheading the

movement for inclusion of Dogri in the VIII Schedule, had presented a Memorandum to the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir on 12 May 1992, who promised to recommend Dogri's case to the Central Government. We have sent Memoranda to the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Hon'ble Home Minister and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs on 5 June 1992, copies of the Memoranda have also been sent to the heads of all the Political Parties in India. Dr. Karan Singh has written to the Prime Minister strongly supporting the demand.

India is a land of varied languages and cultures. All languages and cultures of this vast land of ours are equally important and respectable, and deserve to be accorded equal status. Now when Manipuri, Konkani and Nepali are being considered for inclusion in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution, it will be gross injustice to deny the Dogri language its due place. In the interest of the culture of the Dogri speaking people and in the larger interest of the Union of India, therefore, we request for the inclusion of Dogri language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India in the forthcoming Session of the Parliament, along with other deserving languages.

APPENDIX C

Sahitya Akademi Awards For Kashmiri

1956	<i>Sumran</i> (Poetry)	Zinda Kaul 'Masterji'
1958	<i>Sat Sangar</i> (Short stories)	Akhtar Mohiuddin
1961	<i>Nauroz-i-Saba</i> (Poetry)	A. Rahman Rahi
1967	<i>Lawah Te Prawah</i> (poetry)	Amin Kamil
1969	<i>Ka'shri Zab'any Hund Allegavaad</i> <i>Phera</i> (Linguistic study)	Abdul Khaliq Tak Zainageri
1970	<i>Maqallat</i> (Essays)	Mohiuddin Hajini
1972	<i>Suyya</i> (Play)	Ali Mohammed Lone
1975	<i>Gaashir Munar</i> (Essays)	Ghulam Nabi Khayal
1976	<i>Machaama</i> (Plays)	Pushkar Bhan
1978	<i>Be Soakh Rooh</i> (Poetry)	G.R. Santosh
1979	<i>Partavistan</i> (Poetry)	Marghoob Banihali
1981	<i>Mansar</i> (Poetry)	Moti Lal Saqi
1982	<i>Natak Truche</i> (Drama)	Motilal Kemmu
1984	<i>Essay</i> (Essays)	Mohd. Zaman Azurdah
1985	<i>Loli Vetsar</i> (Poetry)	Mizra G.H. Beg Arif
1986	<i>Shihil Kul</i> (Poetry)	Dina Nath Nadim
1987	<i>Awaz-i-Dost</i> (Poetry)	Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki
1988	<i>Pun-Te-Pap</i> (Novel)	Ghulam Nabi Gauhar
1989	<i>Sheen Te Watpod</i> (Novel)	Pran Kishore
1990	<i>Kashur Sarmaya</i> (Poetry)	Fazil Kashmiri
1991	<i>Acchre-Tsange</i> (Poetry)	Ghulam Nabi Tak Naazir
1992	<i>Amaar</i> (Poetry)	Shafi Shaida
1993	<i>Kenh Natu Kenh</i> (Essays)	Syed Rasool Pompur
1994	<i>Kalji Raath</i> (Plays)	Sajood Sailani

(No Awards in 1955, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1977, 1980 and 1983).

APPENDIX D

Sahitya Akademi Awards For Dogri

1970	<i>Nila Ambar Kale Badal</i> (Short Stories)	Narendra Khajuria
1971	<i>Meri Kavita Mere Geet</i> (Poetry)	Padma Sachdev
1972	<i>Phull Bina Dali</i> (Novel)	Srivats Vikal
1974	<i>Duddh, Lahoo, Zahar</i> (Short stories)	Madan Mohan Sharma
1975	<i>Mere Dogri Geet</i> (Poetry)	Kishan Smailpuri
1976	<i>Badnami Di Chhan</i> (Short Stories)	Ram Nath Shastri
1977	<i>Main Mele Re Janun</i> (Poetry)	Kehar Singh 'Madhukar'
1978	<i>Sanjhi Dharit Bakhle Mahnu</i> (Novel)	Narsingh Dev Jamwal
1979	<i>Nanga Rukh</i> (Novel)	O.P. Sharma 'Sarathi'
1980	<i>Ghar</i> (Novel)	Kunwar Viyogi
1981	<i>Ek Shehr Yaaden Da</i> (Poetry)	Jitendra Udhamपुरi
1982	<i>Qaidi</i> (Novel)	Deshbandhu Dogra 'Nutan'
1983	<i>Aale</i> (Short Stories)	Ved Rahi
1984	<i>Gamlen De Cactus</i> (Poetry)	Shiv Ram 'Deep'
1985	<i>Ayodhiya</i> (Drama)	Dinoo Bhai Pant
1986	<i>Sunee Di Chiree</i> (Short Stories)	Om Goswami
1987	<i>Beddan Dharti Di</i> (Epic)	Prakash Premi
1988	<i>Rattu Da Chanan</i> (Poetry)	Ram Lal Sharma
1989	<i>Sodh Samunderen Di</i> (Poetry)	Mohanlal Sapolia
1990	<i>Jeevan Lehran</i> (Poetry)	Tara Smailpuri
1991	<i>Apni Daphli Apna Raag</i> (Drama)	Mohan Singh
1992	<i>Jo Terai Man-Chitta Laggi Jaa</i> (Poetry)	Yash Sharma
1994	<i>Buddh Suhagan</i> (Plays)	Jitendra Sharma

(No awards in 1973, 1993)

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bailey, T.Grahame, *Pronunciation of Kashmiri*. London, 1873. 70p.
 Bailey, T.Grahame, *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*. London, 1915. 277p.
- Bailey, T.Grahame, *Languages of the Northern Himalayas Studied in the Grammar of twenty-six Himalayan Dialects*. London, 1908.
- Bailey, T.Grahame, *Grammar of the Shina Language*. London, 1924. 285p.
- Barbour, P.L. 'Burucaski, a language of Northern Kashmir'. *Journal of American Oriental Society*. Vol. 41, 1921, pp. 60-72.
- Biddulph, J. 'Dialect of tribes of the Hindu Kush, and the Boorishki language spoken in Hunza, Nagar and Yasin'. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 16, 1884. pp. 74-119.
- Bishun Narayan Pandit, *Gulzari-i-Kashmir*. Lahore, 1873.
 Buhler, G., *Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS*. Bombay 1877.
 Bukkhard, Karl Fredrich, *Essays on Kashmiri Grammar*. Translated and edited by G.A. Grierson. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 24, 1895, pp. 337-47; Vol. 25, 1896, pp 1-9, 29-35, 80-102, 165-73, 193-99, 208-16; Vol. 26, 1897, pp. 188-92; Vol. 27, 1898, pp. 179-93, 215-21, 228-32, 309-17; Vol. 28, 1899, pp. 6-13, 85-93, 169-79, 219-23, 245-52; Vol. 29, 1900.
- Campbell, George, *Specimens of Languages of India*. Calcutta, 1874.
 Deambi, B.K. Kaul, *Corpus of Sharada Inscriptions of Kashmir*. Delhi, 1982.
- Edelman, D.I. *Dardskic Jazki*. Moscow, 1965.
 Elmslie, W.J., *Vocabulary of the Kashmiri Language*. London, 1872. 264p.
- Grierson, G.A. *Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*. Compiled partly from materials left by late Pandit Isvara Kaula. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1916-32. 4 Vols. 1252p.

- Grierson, G.A. *Essays on Kashmiri Grammar*. Calcutta, 1899, 258p.
- Grierson, G.A., Ed., *Kacmiracabdamrta : A Kashmir grammar written in Sanskrit language by Isvara Kaula*. Calcutta, Asiatic Society, 1898, 376p.
- Grierson, G.A., *Language of Maha-Naya Prakasa: An Examination of the Kashmiri as written in the fifteenth century. Memoirs, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 112, 1929, pp. 73-130
- Grierson, G.A., Comp and Ed. *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. 9, Pt 4: (Indo-Aryan family, Specimens of Pahari Language and Gujuri). Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas, 1909. . .
- Grierson, G.A. Comp. and Ed., *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. 8, Pt. 2: (Indo-Aryan family, Dardi; Kashmiri etc.) Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas, Reprint, 1967. 576p.
- Grierson. G.A., *Manual of Kashmiri Language*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911.
- Grierson, G.A., *Specimens of the Dardic or Pisacha languages including Kashmiri*. Calcutta, Supdt. Govt. Printing, 1919. 567p.
- Gupta, Bansilal., *Dogri bhāṣya aur Vyakran*. Jammu, J&K Cultural Academy, 1965. 213p.
- Gupta, Om Prakash, *Dogri-Hindi Prasang*. Jammu, Rashmi Pub., 1966.
- Jones, J. Hilton, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*. Bombay, Education Society's Press, 1885. 263p.
- Kachru, Braj B., *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri*. Illinois, University of Illinois, 1969. 416p.
- Kaul, Jayalal. *Studies in Kashmiri*. Srinagar, 1968. 337p.
- Kaul, O.N. and Schmidt, Ruth Laile *Kashmiri: A Sociolinguistic Survey*. Patiala, 1983. 67p.
- Koshal, S., *Conversational Ladakhi*. Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas, 1982. 798p.
- Koshal, S., *Ladakhi Grammar*, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas, 1979. 377p.
- Koshal, S., *Ladakhi Phonetic Reader*. Mysore, Central Instt. of Indian Languages, 1976. 205p.
- Leitner, G.W., *Language and Races of Dardistan*. Lahore, 1877.
- Lorime, D.L.R., *Burushaski Language*. Cambridge, 1935-38. 3 Vols.
- Neve, Ernest F., *English: Kashmiri*. Mysore, Wesley Press. 58p.

- Nur Mohammad *Koeshur bolchal Kalam*. Ed. 2, Srinagar, Ghulam Mohammad Nur Mohammad, 1948. 224p.
- O' Brien, D.J.T., *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khowar dialect - Chitrali*. Lahore, 1895, xiv, 126p.
- Raina, Shibani Krishan, *Kashmiri bhasya aur Sahitya*. Delhi, Sanmarg Prakashan, 1972, 262p.
- Razdan, Prithvi Nath *Hindi in Kashmir: A Survey*. 1969. 372p.
- Seva Singh, *Riyasat Kashmir Main Punjabi Zaban Aur Adab*. 1968.
- Smailpuri, Tara *Dogri Kahavat Kosh*. Cultural Academy, 1962. 204p.
- Wade, T. Russell. *Grammar of the Kashmiri Language as spoken in the Valley of Kashmir*. London, 1888. 159p.
- Warikoo, K., *Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh: A Classified and Comprehensive Bibliography*. Delhi, 1976. 555p.
- Zahur-ud-din. *Development of Urdu Language and Literature in the Jammu Region*. Srinagar, 1985, 490p.
- Zainagiri, A.K. Tak, *Koshruk elaqa wad phireh*. (In Kashmiri). Srinagar, J&K Cultural Academy, 1967. 520p.

